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EMINENT PERSONS

EMINENT PERSONS

BIOGRAPHIES

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JAMES BLAINE

1830–1893

Obituary Notice, Friday, January 27, 1893

James Gillespie Blaine was born on 31st January 1830, at Indian-hill Farm, in Washington County, Pennsylvania. His father, Ephraim Lyon Blaine, was of Scotch descent. He came of a stock that had settled in the Cumberland Valley about 1725; the ancestors of his mother, who was a Catholic, came from county Donegal; his great grandfather, Colonel Ephraim Blaine, made a figure in the War of Independence. He served with distinction from 1778 to 1783 as Commissary-General under Washington. The father of the future statesman was a country lawyer, who inherited an estate in Western Pennsylvania more remarkable for size than rental. Blaine has suffered much from indiscreet, unmeasured praise of party biographers, anxious to prove, in the crisis of a Presidential campaign, that he was a heaven-born leader of men. But they have not been able to discover respecting his achievements at school, in Lancaster, Ohio, or in Washington College, evidence of remarkable precocity. He was a lad of quick parts and good memory, who excelled in spelling matches—his biographers proudly and minutely record certain victories of this kind. He owed much to the instruction of an Englishman, Mr. Lyons, while he lived in the house of the Hon. Mr. Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Treasury, at Lancaster, Ohio. He began the study of law, but he never practised. For about two years he was "professor"

—*Anglicé*, usher—in the Western or Blue Lick Military Institute at Georgetown, Kentucky, and there, in Henry Clay's State, with the memories of the great orator still fresh, he acquired his taste for political life. We next get a glimpse of him in Philadelphia as a teacher and contributor to the *Daily Inquirer* of that city. As a youth of 21 he became part owner and editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, published in Augusta, in the State of Maine, and then a somewhat obscure Republican newspaper "badly run down." He seems to have electrified the quiet people of Maine by his fluent, emphatic rhetoric. One of his admirers in after years, speaking of that journal in Blaine's time, said that "the loud thunder of artillery is heard along its columns; the charge of cavalry and the sweep of infantry are upon its pages"—in more sober English, he was an adept at what with country folk in outlying parts passed for extremely fine writing. He quickly made his mark in Maine politics. The Governor of the State sent him on a mission to examine the prisons and penitentiaries of the other States, with a view to the improvement of those of Maine; and he was a delegate to the Republican Convention at Philadelphia which nominated Frémont. There is a story of his being called upon on his return to give an account of the proceedings at the Convention. Not being at that time a practised speaker, he paused, stumbled, and seemed about to break down, when, recovering himself, he launched into an eloquent speech. From that time his reputation as an orator was established. Even greater, and of no less rapid growth, was his reputation as a party organiser. As chairman of the Executive Council of the Republican party in Maine, even at the age of 29 he displayed those powers of organising and manipulating in which he was almost unrivalled. In 1858 he was elected a member of the Maine Legislature, and soon became Speaker of the House, a position for which he was well fitted by his quick apprehension and excellent judgment. In 1862 he was returned to Congress by a majority of 3422, and for six terms he was returned by large majorities. The Civil War was still raging, but fortune was beginning to declare unmistakably for the North. "I entered this Congress in the midst of the hot flames of the war, when the Union was rocking to its foundation, and no man knew whether he was to have a country or not." Such was his own description of the position of affairs; we define it more precisely by saying that the

darkest days of the Union were over, and that the victory of Gettysburg and the capture of Vicksburg were at hand, and that confidence in the power of the North to crush the South was reviving. It did not fall to Blaine to struggle for the Union in its deepest gloom. He had no important part or lot in the work which Lincoln, Seward, and Chase performed ; we do not find his name conspicuously written in any history of the war, but he was among the foremost in directing the policy and details of Reconstruction. Blaine was a born member of Congress. His vigour, acumen, readiness, and unfailing energy marked him out as a party leader. He was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1869—an office which he held till 1874—a period of almost unequalled length. On all hands it was admitted that in that position of difficulty he displayed rare talents. Since Henry Clay there had been no more successful Speaker. His history for ten years is really the history of Congress. He served on all the principal committees. He spoke often, and always with effect. "Men call him," said an admirer, "magnetic simply because they do not understand him. He has not the inexhaustible flow of rhetoric, or of wit, or of drollery, which characterises one and another of our orators, but he has a never-failing fund of brilliant common-sense and of quick human sympathy. . . . His logic is so luminous that it often has the effect of wit."

Never was his ability questioned ; unfortunately his integrity was assailed on an occasion which cannot be passed over in any truthful life of Mr. Blaine. In 1876 an investigation by a Committee of the House of Representatives brought to light certain letters—the famous "Mulligan Letters," written by him in 1869, when he was Speaker of the House. They were addressed to a Mr. Fisher and a Mr. Caldwell, who were interested in the construction of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, Arkansas, a railroad which received from Congress a valuable grant of land. We need not set out the text of these much-controverted letters, or revive in all its fulness a controversy now forgotten. It is enough to say that they contained such expressions—qualified, it is true, by others—as these :— "Your offer to admit to a participation in the new railroad enterprise is in every respect as I could expect or desire." "I don't feel that I shall prove a deadhead in the enterprise." "I see various channels in which I know I can be useful."

"I am more satisfied with the terms of the offer. I think it a most liberal offer. . . . Your liberal mode of dealing with me in all our business transactions of the past eight years has not passed without my full appreciation." In another letter Blaine reminded Caldwell that he had been the means of saving the Bill relating to the Little Rock Road from a mischievous amendment; and in a letter of the same date he recalls to Fisher his services, adding, "your conduct towards me has always been marked by undivided liberality in past years." "I am bothered by only one thing, and that is the indefinite arrangement with Mr. Caldwell. I am anxious to acquire the interest he has promised me." The genuineness of the letters was not disputed; over their signification all the politicians and newspapers quarrelled. What did these letters, written by a Speaker of the House of Representatives, able to make or mar financial schemes, really mean? Mr. Blaine's friends were confident that they meant nothing wrong. No overt act of corruption was proved or even very distinctly suggested; his ruling as to the Bill before the House of Representatives was perfectly proper; and he had, in fact, received nothing from Mr. Fisher or Mr. Caldwell. It was urged that the matter was absurdly magnified and distorted by those who resented his free, fearless speech. Still, the effect, through the length and breadth of the land, of the publication of the "Mulligan Letters" was immense; in the estimation of many of the best members of the Republican party Mr. Blaine never again stood where he had done.

Mr. Blaine's friends early marked him out as a future President. In 1876 he had become so prominent a member of the Republican party that he was put forward at the Cincinnati Convention of that year, and, though he held the field for several ballots, he was in the end defeated by Rutherford Hayes of Ohio, by only a small majority. In that year he made an eloquent speech, which much increased his reputation as an orator, against extending to Jefferson Davis the amnesty, on the ground that he was responsible for the terrible privations endured by the Federal prisoners in Andersonville. He was a determined supporter of the Federal Power in the south. At the State Convention of Maine in 1877 he was instrumental in passing a resolution expressing "the solicitude and alarm" with which his political friends contemplated the "complete consolidation of all political power in sixteen Southern States

in the hands of those who precipitated the rebellion, while Union men are persecuted into silence or banishment." In 1878, *à propos* of the Bland Bill for the free coinage of silver dollars of 412½ grains as legal tender, he defined his position on the silver question. He was strongly in favour of remonetising silver. "I think we owe this to the American labourer." He was in favour of bimetallism; he did not believe that a dollar of 412½ grains would be "the absolute barricade against the gold monometallists" which was wanted. In 1879 he was foremost in demanding an inquiry into the frauds and malpractices by which it was alleged the free ballot had been obstructed in the interests of the Democrats.

In 1880 Blaine was again a candidate for the Presidency; there was a great "boom" in his favour, but again he was defeated, and had the humiliation of being obliged to "turn over" his votes to General Garfield, who was not in the running in the first ballot. Blaine became Secretary of State, and in that office he displayed the restless activity, accompanied by a certain peremptory tone, which has always marked him as a diplomatist. The ten months in which he directed the foreign policy of the country were eventful; and the results did not make cautious men think better of him. His contention in regard to the Cuban claims was directly opposite to that of his predecessor, Mr. Evarts, and he took up in regard to Chili and Peru a position which his successor, Mr. Frelinghuysen, hastened to evacuate. Professional diplomatists were not too kindly disposed to one who lectured them on the subject of the Panama Canal without apparently at the outset of the negotiations having had his attention directed to the existence of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. His first attempt was to prove that European Powers had no right to join in a guarantee of the Canal; his second was to induce England to consent to a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as passed "under exceptional and extraordinary circumstances which had long ceased to exist"; and both attempts failed. During the long period of suspense when Garfield lay between life and death, Blaine was virtually President, and he was in no mood to efface himself when the Vice-President became President. He retired from President Arthur's Cabinet in December 1881; the relations had become strained; the foreign policy of the Secretary of State was too ambitious and uncertain to please the new

President. Then came what for Mr. Blaine was a period of inactivity and of seclusion in his home at Augusta, varied by writing a book in two bulky volumes, entitled *Twenty Years of Congress.* Long before it appeared it was preceded by a "boom" of praise, for which some of his friends, thinking more of the next Presidential campaign than the wishes of the author, were responsible. Full of information, valuable as a work of reference, composed in an animated rhetorical style, and with interesting pen-and-ink sketches of Stanton, Grant, Lincoln, and many other American worthies, it was hailed at first as a historical treatise of a high order. Mr. Blaine, it was said, was destined to be as successful in literature as he had proved to be in political life. That is not likely to be the verdict of posterity; it is not the verdict of to-day. Partly from the inherent difficulties of the subject—what epitome of Parliamentary strife and party campaigns was ever interesting?—partly from the monotonously rhetorical style of the narrative, it has lost flavour. It has been described, in one of his own phrases, as "the extended argument of a stump speech"—a description one-sided and unjust of a book which is relieved from frigid dulness by many personal touches and by accounts and reminiscences, for the most part generous and kindly, of political rivals and adversaries. With all its merits, and they are real, the book illustrates the curse of barrenness pronounced on the literature of party politics.

Again the Presidential campaign came round, and again in 1884, at the Chicago Convention, he was put forward by the Republican party. He was nominated. Into the contest he threw himself with his usual energy. For forty-three consecutive days he made public addresses, and gave "hand-shaking receptions." In that period he spoke no fewer than four hundred times. Everything seemed in his favour. He was the ideal politician and statesman according to the Republican theory—the impersonation of strength and the pledge of victory. Long experience as an editor and member of Congress, his position for six years as Speaker of the House, repeated preparations, thorough beyond precedent, for his candidacy, made his acquaintance with party methods and party leaders nearly universal. Twenty skilful personal followers laboured devotedly for him for every one who served his opponent. But he was again to fail. His nomination gave rise to a revolt in the

Republican party of a kind hitherto unknown, and made the contest the most important since that of Lincoln. Many of the most powerful members of that party declared that they would have nothing to do with the nomination of one who represented in their eyes some of the worst elements of American politics. "He is unfit," said, somewhat harshly, Mr. James Freeman Clarke, "because he has used public office and position for private gain and personal emolument; discreditable because he has disguised and concealed those transactions by constant duplicity; and unsafe because during his brief term of office in an executive department he interfered, without justice or reason, in the affairs of other republics, and perverted, in the sense of private interest, the power confided to him for public ends." Of Blaine's nomination Carl Schurz said that it "had taken the backbone out of many living men who were aggressively honest before." "We declare," said the Massachusetts Independent Republicans in a famous meeting at Boston, "that Messrs. Blaine and Logan were nominated in absolute disregard of the reform sentiment of the nation, and that they represent political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed." In vain Mr. Blaine's friends said that he was calumniated and misunderstood. Many of his countrymen who had always voted Republican gave their aid to Cleveland. The result was that which we all know. Blaine was again doomed to disappointment; he missed that which had been the aspiration of his political life. Blaine was travelling in Europe in 1888 when the time came to nominate the Republican candidate. His intentions and desire were long equivocal and embarrassing. General Sherman published letters which seem to indicate that Blaine had at an early date decided to withdraw, and was anxious to secure the nomination for the soldier. But many of his friends believed that he would yield to solicitation, and his conduct, even when he was on a driving tour with Mr. Andrew Carnegie in Scotland, seemed to show he was not immovable. In May 1888 he wrote a letter which most persons took to be his final decision. Still, "the Florence message" and "the Paris message" notwithstanding, a minority at the Convention at Chicago persisted in putting him forward, and his name was not withdrawn until unequivocal telegrams from him were produced. Thus once more eluded his grasp the great prize of American public life, as it had

eluded the grasp of Clay and Webster, though neither of them had so nearly attained it and so often missed it as he.

General Harrison was elected, and in his Cabinet Blaine became Secretary of State. In that office he displayed his usual aggressive activity. He revived his favourite idea of a Pan-American alliance, which had been dropped on his retirement from President Arthur's Cabinet, and he invited representatives of all States on the American Continent to meet at Washington. The deputies returned home well pleased with the kindness of their entertainers, and impressed, no doubt, with the wealth and resources of the United States, which Mr. Blaine was at great pains to make known to them. But the diplomatic results of the Pan-American Convention have so far been small. Negotiations were in progress for the settlement of the Behring Sea Fishery Question when President Cleveland's term expired. They were interrupted ; the whole matter assumed a different aspect shortly after Mr. Blaine took office. The proclamation issued by General Harrison and the seizure of the Black Diamond by the United States' cruiser *Rush*, and the position taken up by Mr. Blaine in his despatches to Lord Salisbury, did much to avert a settlement of a dispute which seemed, in his predecessor's time, to be in a fair way to be settled.

The President and he never acted with perfect harmony, or much semblance of it ; and it would have been scarcely possible if only by reason of their friends, who were perpetually lauding the one to the disparagement of the other. Mr. Blaine's admirers always attributed the foreign policy of the Government to the "brilliant Secretary," the invariable retort being, to use the words of Mr. Chauncey Depew, that "the means and suggestions of the ablest Secretary would have failed with a lesser President ;" and frequent and keen was the discussion whether a particular State document was in General Harrison's or Mr. Blaine's handwriting. Suddenly, but not to the surprise of those who knew Mr. Blaine well, on the eve of the Nomination Convention at Minneapolis, when some of the delegates had actually met, he announced his resignation, and came forward as a Presidential candidate against General Harrison. Everything seemed at the opening of the Convention to be in his favour. When he was nominated by Mr. Wolcott of Colorado, and seconded by Mr. Eustis of Minnesota, there was a scene

never before witnessed at a convention. Ladies hysterically waved their fans, parasols, and handkerchiefs. A Mrs. Clarkson, beating time with her parasol, sang, "Blaine, Blaine, James G. Blaine," and the audience took up the refrain. But when the acclamations of partisans died away and the voting was taken, General Harrison had 555 votes, Mr. Blaine 182. The "boom" was over; and his end, politically, had come.

As to some subjects of pressing importance, Mr. Blaine was reticent or ambiguous. As to Protection his opinion was always clear. He was a strong adherent and one of the most plausible advocates of what he liked to designate, in Henry Clay's phrase, the "American system," and one of his last public addresses was a letter written in the recent Presidential contest, exhorting his countrymen to vote against "British free trade." Free trade might be good enough for a country of the size of England; it was inapplicable to a country of the stature of the United States. In a controversy with Mr. Gladstone in the *North American Review* he took the latter to task for supposing that "a policy which is essential to an island in the Northern Ocean should be adopted as the policy of a country which, even to his own vision, is a world within itself." It was a weakness of Mr. Blaine that he could not keep out of what he wrote to be read in Europe, not even of a diplomatic correspondence respecting the construction of a treaty, some reference to the quantity of bread stuffs produced by his country and the acreage of the youngest State of the Union. As to Silver and Civil Service Reform—the two questions uppermost in the later years of his life—he was not consistent. But, on the whole, his opinions were, in the estimation of the more high-minded of his countrymen, on the wrong side. He had no strong sympathy with the growing demand of so many even in his own party for a permanent Civil Service; he was not convinced that a stable tenure of office was the best; he would have found barely conceivable a political system in which the victor received absolutely no spoils. To the Irish vote he was far from indifferent, and indeed he wooed it too openly. He paid it tribute by making in 1888 a violent attack on Lord Salisbury. But he never enjoyed the full confidence of Tammany.

In the view of Mr. Blaine's many friends he had no rival or second among his countrymen. They spoke, and no doubt

with perfect truth, of his generosity in private life; they scouted all suspicion of his integrity; in their eyes he was "the peerless statesman," uniting the best qualities of Henry Clay, Webster, Sumner, and Henry Wilson. They extolled his incomparable skill in controlling the "machine" of party politics. "Better be right than President" was Clay's memorable saying. No such words are ascribed to Blaine; his friends maintained that he had more than once acted upon that maxim. Still, in spite of the warmth and multitude of his friends, he had to endure the distrust—perhaps exaggerated and unjust, but deep-rooted and lasting—of a large number of his countrymen, who persisted in viewing him as the representative of a type of politician with which they would fain for ever have done. Abroad his policy was not always thought well of; and his most searching critics, his relentless enemies, were certain members, and not the least honourable or powerful, of the Republican party, who regretted the disappearance of statesmen of the stamp of Clay, Seward, and Sumner, and the ascendency of the Conklings and the Camerons, and who saw in Mr. James G. Blaine a formidable and supremely able representative of a class of politicians whose influence was as evil as their talents were unquestionable.

MONSIEUR TAINE

1828–1893

Obituary Notice, March 6, 1893

Hippolyte Adolphe Taine was born on 21st April, 1828, at Vouzier, in the Ardennes, and was therefore less than sixty-five at the time of his lamented death. As a boy he had a distinguished career at the Collège Bourbon, and then entered the École Normale, intending to devote himself to the life of a University professor. But the great success of his *thèse* for the degree of Docteur-ès-Lettres, in 1853, on the subject of La Fontaine's fables, seems to have determined him to remain independent and to devote himself to literature. It was to be philosophical literature, for already he was a passionate student of philosophy, even in its severest and most difficult forms. Writing of an earlier date than this, he has described how he gave himself up for a whole year to the study of Hegel in a quiet country retreat; and "it is probable," he says, "that I shall never experience again impressions so vivid as those which he gave me." "At twenty years of age," he says elsewhere, "philosophy is the most absorbing of mistresses for a lad of imagination. She gives him wings; he flies over the universe, he mounts to the origin of things, he discovers the mechanism of the mind. He travels with her through history and through nature." Not often in later life did M. Taine indulge in visions of this kind; but the young philosopher already bore within him the seed which was to grow into the great work, *De l'Intelligence*, that elaborate inquiry, written with the restrained fire of the man of science, into what he had already most characteristically called the mechanism of the mind. His first

book worthy of the name was the *Essai sur Tite-Live* (1854), deservedly "crowned" by the French Academy; a book of much originality of view, and already containing the elements of that ultra-systematic method of inquiry of which all his later works were examples, and which has been his strength and his weakness. Two years later came a short work on the French philosophers of the nineteenth century, a book which attracted much attention from its cold and reasoned attack upon the spiritualistic philosophy of Cousin and the rest, which had been official under Louis Philippe, and remained at least semi-official under the Empire. About this time he undertook the serious study of English literature, led thereto, in the first instance, by his regard for the English philosophers, especially Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. The result, eight years later, appeared in the book by which he is still best known in this country, the *History of English Literature*, published in four volumes in 1864. It is unnecessary, at this date, to criticise a book which so many readers have criticised for themselves; a book full of brilliant *aperçus*, of happy characterisation, of vivid word-pictures; but a book which revealed in the author a magnificent capacity for riding a hobby to death. As every reader of it remembers, it is an elaborate exercise on the theme that every product of the mind is as much the effect of ascertainable causes as what we commonly call natural products; that man is the creature of his *milieu*; that his work, which is the expression of himself, is the result of his ancestry, his circumstances, the climate and the soil of his country, and the history of his time. The principle is applied throughout with brilliant ingenuity, and for a while the young reader is carried away by it. He has to go to Carlyle or Emerson for the other side; and gradually he comes to feel that M. Taine allows rather too much to the surroundings and too little to the man.

The doctrine of the *English Literature* was enforced again in the various lectures on the philosophy of Art, which M. Taine published from time to time—the revised result of his work as Professor of the History of Art at the École des Beaux-Arts. To this post he was appointed in 1864, and he had soon afterwards to face a violent attack, mainly upon his *English Literature*, but really affecting all his teaching, from the Bishop of Orleans, the fiery Dupanloup. The books were supposed to be atheistic; they were certainly quite opposed to the school which

had till then possessed the official Chairs. But nothing came of the attack, except that Taine was for a long time kept out of the French Academy by it. It was not, indeed, till several years later that he formally offered himself; but by that time (1874) his claims had become, to an impartial eye, overwhelming. In 1866 he produced his *Voyage en Italie* (two vols.); in 1867 his half humorous and more than half satirical *Vie et Opinions de Thomas Graindorge*, a severe picture of the Paris of the day, for which many people never forgave him; and in the early part of 1870, the *année terrible*, he brought out "the book on which he had most reflected," the two volumes *De l'Intelligence*. It has never had great vogue, but a prophecy may be safely hazarded that historians of thought will never be able to regard it as less than a book highly representative of the psychology of the second half of this century. Then came the war, with all its frightful disillusion; and it was when the ordinary course of life was being resumed in Paris that M. Taine gave those lectures of which the effect has been so vividly described by his brilliant young follower and friend, Paul Bourget:—"The master spoke his short sentences in his rather monotonous voice with his almost foreign accent; and this very monotony, these few gestures, this absorbed air, this care not to spoil the eloquence of facts with the eloquence of a theatrical setting—all these little details completed the process of seduction. This man, whose modesty seemed wholly unconscious of his European renown, whose simplicity seemed careless of anything but to serve the truth, became for us the apostle of the New Faith. Here, at least, was one who had never sacrificed upon the altar of official doctrine. Here was one who had never lied!"

It was in the summer term of 1871 that M. Taine lectured to a quite different audience, as the result of an invitation to give a course on French literature at Oxford. The University in return gave him a D.C.L. degree; and presently there followed that much-read volume—so true in the main, though here and there one discovered a trait of pardonable malice—the *Notes sur l'Angleterre*. In 1874 came the rebuff at the French Academy, when the "old gang" threw him out in favour of the drawing-room philosopher, M. Caro. In a short time, however, Taine was destined to win the regard, even the enthusiasm, of the very men who had rejected him, by the publication of the first volumes of his monumental work on the French Revolution and

its consequences. Of course, sour critics said that the work was written with that intention; but those who say so have never read the work, nor do they understand Taine. There never, indeed, was a man less affected by events which concerned himself personally; and the volume on *La Conquête Jacobine* would have been just what it is whether the Bishop of Orleans had smiled or frowned. What the Conservatives exulted over, what the Radicals hated in this volume, and in the others which make up the still incomplete *Origines de la France Contemporaine*, was, in fact, the calm application to the revolutionary period of those very principles of investigation which, when applied elsewhere, the Conservatives had called atheistic, and the Republicans modern and illuminating. The book is the simple carrying out, so far as the author's powers and idiosyncrasy permitted, of his views of the duty of the scientific historian. Much criticised it has been, and will be; the politicians, on the other side, cannot bear it, and devotees of pure literature dislike it as a literary work. The late Edmond Scherer, for instance—a very old friend of Taine's—wrote very sharply and severely about it more than once, and denounced its "tone of mathematical demonstration, its abuse of formulas, its entire want of charm." The criticism was never quite forgiven, but there was much truth in it.

M. Taine was elected to the French Academy in 1878, in succession to M. de Loménie, and at once began to exercise a real influence on the proceedings of that body. We may fairly assume, for instance, that he was one of those who compelled the early recognition of the claims of M. Sully-Prudhomme, the philosophical poet; and it is certain that, more recently, he had much to do with the election of M. de Voguë and M. Lavisse. Although his type of mind was so special and distinct that he cannot be said to have had a literary kinship with any one, it was with men like these that he undoubtedly felt the closest sympathy. The methods of physical science applied to the mind and to the study of human society—these were what really interested him, although he had a genuine admiration for brilliancy and creative genius, whether in talk or in writing. He admired Renan, for example, and personally felt a real affection for him, as for a very old friend; he admired Paul Bourget, and would listen delighted, as did men of all ages, to the young writer's extraordinary eloquence in conversation.

In painting, Bonnat was the contemporary whom he admired most; and Bonnat painted a portrait of him in a style which, if the methods of art can be said to resemble those of literature, is curiously like Taine's own; vivid, precise, scientific, but hard and without charm. His interest in the politics of the day was only moderately keen; his attitude, as might have been expected, was mainly critical. He loyally accepted the Republic, and hoped for its permanence; he admired the English methods of governing and legislating; but he used to confess that the outlook was, in both countries, an anxious one. He feared much, at home, from the instability of the French character; he feared much, all over Europe, from the spread of Socialistic theories. But how could a man be an optimist who had lived through the war of 1870, and had steeped himself, more deeply than any other student, in the published and unpublished records of the triumphs and the horrors, the hopes, the disappointments, the miserable disillusion of the Revolution and the era of Napoleon?

M. JULES FERRY

1832–1893

Obituary Notice, Saturday, March 18, 1893

Jules François Camille Ferry was born at St. Dié, in the Vosges, in 1832, and began, as every clever young Frenchman did and does, by studying law in Paris and writing for the papers—in his case, for *Le Temps*, the staff of which he joined in 1865. His first great "hit" was in 1868, when he published a criticism of the Imperial expenditure on the rebuilding of Paris under the immensely happy title of "Les Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann"—a parody, of course, of the famous "Contes fantastiques d'Hoffman." This pamphlet gained him, as a Democratic Radical candidate, a seat for Paris next year, on the Opposition side of the last Imperial Chamber. He had been an unsuccessful candidate in 1863. In the Corps Législatif he was one of the leaders of the Opposition who could most readily obtain a hearing. He was among those Deputies who demanded the dissolution of the Corps, on the ground that it did not represent the majority of the country; and, when the fatal war was declared, he naturally opposed it with the rest of the scanty Left. After the proclamation of the Republic he became, as did each of the representatives of Paris, a member of the Government of National Defence, and went through many exciting experiences during the siege, being more than once in imminent danger from the insurrectionary National Guards. On 5th September—the day after the revolution—he was appointed Secretary to the Government, and on the next day he was charged with the administration of the Department of the Seine, in which post he was able to carry on much work of great value in the way of

organisation on the outskirts of Paris. He risked his life in trying to suppress the Communal insurrection of 31st October 1870, and soon afterwards he was delegated to the central mayoralty of Paris, upon the resignation of M. Arago. In this capacity he took an active part in the issuing of the order for the distribution of bread, and in other vigorous measures which the situation of the besieged city urgently demanded. The last incident of note in the siege was the successful defence by M. Ferry of the Hôtel de Ville against a body of enraged National Guards, who attempted to overthrow the Provisional Government.

After the peace M. Ferry was elected Deputy for the Department of the Vosges, and, in consequence, resigned his national and municipal functions. In May 1871, after the second siege and the entrance of the troops into Paris, he was nominated Prefect of the Seine by M. Thiers; but so much hostile criticism was aroused by the appointment that he only held office for ten days. The unpopularity which attached to him then, and from which he never afterwards entirely escaped, also prevented him from being sent as Ambassador to Washington. Soon afterwards, however, apparently owing to some difficulty in working with M. Thiers, he went as Minister to Athens, where he remained for a year, till the fall of Thiers and the accession of Marshal MacMahon to power. Then he came home and at once took a leading place in the Opposition, resuming his place among the members of the Republican Left, who elected him their president. He was prominent at every Parliamentary crisis; and was one of the foremost members of the famous "363," who refused a vote of confidence to the De Broglie Ministry in 1877, after the Marshal's small *coup d'état*. He now followed up his early articles in the *Temps* upon questions of finance—a subject to which he had devoted especial attention as a journalist—by serving as one of the vice-presidents of the Budget Committee, and as president of the important commission which was appointed to consider the customs tariff and which took the evidence of representatives of all the great industrial and commercial interests of the country. When the Republic had been definitely constituted by the general election of 1877, and by the fall of the Marshal, M. Ferry at once came to the front as one of the most important members of M. Grévy's first Ministry. It was as Minister of Education that in 1879 he proposed the celebrated Bill for regulating the action of the

clergy and the so-called "free" Universities—those not under State control—in teaching and in the giving of degrees. Article 7 of this Bill provided that all power of teaching, in public and in private establishments, should be taken away from members of unauthorised religious congregations. It need not be said that this measure, which was directed principally against the Jesuits, supported by the whole force of the Government and adhered to resolutely by M. Ferry, re-opened the religious question in its most acute form, and caused intense pain and anger to the Catholics generally. The Bill passed the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority ; but it was rejected by the Senate, the Commission which advised its rejection on account of the opposition offered to the seventh clause by a strong party including many moderate Republicans, and having for its chairman M. Jules Simon.

It is interesting to note in passing that the latter was a defeated candidate for the post of President of the body, which thus flouted M. Ferry, when the author of the obnoxious measure was elected to hold it. It was at this period that M. Ferry attained to the greatest degree of popularity which he has ever enjoyed in France. During a provincial tour which he made in the autumn of 1879, he was everywhere warmly received, and his confident predictions of the eventual success of clause 7 aroused enthusiasm of his audiences. The Bill was dropped for a time, and in 1880, when, during the Premiership of M. de Freycinet, the clause was once more inserted in M. Ferry's Government Education Bill, it was again thrown out by a small majority in the Upper Chamber. But the Ministry proceeded to effect its purpose by decrees founded upon laws which had become obsolete, and the proscription of the Order of Jesuits was immediately proclaimed. The expulsion of its members was carried out, but the other unauthorised congregations were unmolested, and in consequence of this three of the more thoroughgoing members of the Cabinet resigned their portfolios. This was the death-blow to the Ministry, but it gave M. Ferry the Premiership. He formed a new Cabinet, consisting of the advanced colleagues of M. de Freycinet, with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire as Foreign Minister, and the decrees were carried out rigorously, and even with some harshness. M. Ferry only remained in office for a year. The expedition, to which France owes Tunis, having been violently attacked on

grounds of policy, he resigned in November 1881. A year and a half later he was asked to resume the task of administration, and he became Premier, again holding the portfolio of Public Instruction. But he now quitted the field of his former battles over religious education, and again turned his attention to his favourite policy of colonial expansion. His invasion and annexation of Tonkin—a costly boon to France, measured both by money and by men—brought upon him a torrent of abuse and recrimination. He was accused of being a traitor and an enemy of his country; it was said that he had fallen into a trap set for him by Prince Bismarck; and by a sudden adverse vote of the Chamber in 1884 he was overthrown.

From that time M. Ferry has been, until recently, one of the most unpopular men in France. When M. Grévy resigned the Presidency, he was a candidate for the vacant office. Supported by a majority of Republicans in the Senate, and by a certain number in the Chamber, he obtained, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Municipal Council of Paris, 212 votes on the first ballot against M. Carnot's 303, the next candidate in order being General Saussier with 148. But the threats of civil war—if he should be elected, and the flame of hatred against him sedulously fanned by the leaders of the Paris mob—had their influence, and he withdrew from the contest before the second ballot took place. A few days after the election of M. Carnot, M. Ferry was fired at—fortunately without ill-result—in the lobby of the Chamber by one Aubertin, who was afterwards found to be insane. From this time until he was elected three weeks ago to fill the Presidential chair in the Senate (of which he had become a member in 1890) he preserved an almost unbroken silence and seemed to be, as it were, ostracised from public life. He continued to represent his old constituency in the Vosges—with one brief interval in 1889-90—from the time of his first election in 1871 until his translation to the Senate.

M. Ferry was one of the most determined opponents of the pretensions of General Boulanger; and, having alluded to him in a speech at Epinal as a *café concert St. Arnaud*, he received a challenge from the General, who was then the hero of the Paris music-halls. But the negotiations of their respective seconds came to nothing, and no duel was fought.

If M. Jules Ferry had died a month ago the moderate

Republicans of France would have lost the opportunity of repairing one of the most cruel political injustices of our time. Only three weeks have elapsed between his re-entering upon active public life, through his election to the Presidency of the Senate, and his sudden death. It is a matter for satisfaction that one of the leaders of Modern France did not pass away before the party, to which he had been so able a support and so good a friend, recognised by a signal mark of esteem and gratitude the qualities which they had long neglected, and the services which they had misinterpreted and decried.

Jules Ferry was one of the few French politicians who have steadily followed the same line and pursued the same end. He was a Liberal and Republican from his entrance on public life. He entered it at the most despotic period of the Second Empire, and a resolute adversary of that Government from the first, his opposition did not relax till its fall. By speech and pen he constantly combated the personal rule of Napoleon III. He did so with eloquence and irony, and he speedily became the head of the young Opposition phalanx. The Empire felt from the outset that it had in him an inexorable opponent, one of those whom it had to overthrow if it would not be itself overthrown. During the whole period of that opposition, without flaunting his Republican faith, he was one of the great opposition party known as the Liberal Union, a party made up of various shades of opinion agreeing in the one ideal of combating the Empire and of sharing the spoils when the common enemy was vanquished. In spite of his youth, his advice was usually heeded, and his power in word and action was felt in every one of the blows which caused the throne of the Second Empire to totter. Then, as afterwards and always, he was before and above all a fanatical partisan of the Republican form of government. He pursued the realisation of this ideal violently and incessantly, making more friends for the Republic than for himself. On this platform he repudiated compromise, he showed no forbearance in the struggle, he sought for no personal sympathies, he was bent solely on winning adherents to the Republican form of government, regardless of any personal impression which he might produce. His satire "Les Comptes Fantastiques d'Haussmann" first gave him prominence and openly marked him out for the anger and attacks of the

supporters of the Empire, who up to his death have never lost their bitterness against him.

When, on 1st September 1870, the news of Sedan reached Paris he was one of the group who held the downfall of the Empire to be the necessary consequence of the disaster, and he bore a leading part in the overthrow of the Throne. The Empire having fallen, he was marked out for a place in the new Government which suddenly sprang up in Paris, and from the first, among the most important members of the National Defence, he stood out as a target for the Socialist revolution which loomed on the horizon. He remained in besieged Paris, one of the most persevering and active members. It was upon him that fell the crushing task of watching over the fate of the capital, and when there burst forth on 31st October the anti-patriotic revolution which presaged the Commune, it was he whose resistance was the most energetic and whose personality was the most menaced. He took an active and courageous part in the resistance of the Paris troops, and his bitterest enemies could not deny his constant bravery and coolness. Peace concluded, he was once again found in the ranks of those who refused to content themselves with the mere name of Republic, and who did not cease to combat that bastard Republic which was nothing but a name, Reaction directing its policy and trying to compromise its destiny.

From that time he was found with M. Jules Simon and M. Jules Favre, with Arago, Crémieux, and all those men whose tried Republicanism satisfied his own unwavering principles, and he became a special object of dislike to the Legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Bonapartists, who saw in him only a determined and implacable foe. The revolutionists, too, dreaded his energy and had sufficient knowledge of his firm spirit to feel that he would never temporise with disorder. He was among those who openly acclaimed Thiers as a convert to the Republic, and when the Commune burst out, actuated by a persistent and disinterested idea, he resolutely allied himself with Thiers in his battle against the Reaction. He then even opposed those of Thiers' Ministers whose ulterior aims he suspected, and he openly defied social compromises by contracting a purely civil marriage. This attitude rather vexed Thiers, who had the highest opinion of him, and who, with his characteristic mocking scepticism, said, "I regret that Jules Ferry did not make this

concession to the outcries of his adversaries. What mattered it to him whether he were married at church? I am no more of a believer than he is, yet when I die I shall have a funeral in my little church of Notre dame de la Lorette." But Ferry was not a man of compromise. He went straight forward. He had conceived the idea of a Republic restricted by nothing but the necessity of order and security, and he resisted both Right and Left in trying to keep the Republic from deviating from the line marked out by him. This inflexibility finally embarrassed Thiers himself, and the post of French Minister at Athens falling vacant, Thiers offered it to Ferry, and with some difficulty got him to accept it. M. Jules Ferry left for Greece. His chief mission was the settlement of the Laurium Mines difficulty, then threatening to become serious. He acquitted himself in that mission with promptness and address, and returned to France to take up his post at the side of Gambetta, who was then playing his *rôle* in the National Assembly, and of whom later on he proclaimed himself the devoted lieutenant. This declaration soon bore its fruits. At Gambetta's death Jules Ferry found himself marked out as his successor, and by unanimous consent he became the leader of the Opportunist party. He was soon at the head of a Cabinet, in which he held at the same time the portfolio of Public Instruction.

It was at that time, in association with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, that he conceived the idea of the conquest of Tunis. He knew the engagements entered into at the Berlin Congress between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington. He knew that England thus bound would not oppose his scheme. He knew it was Prince Bismarck who had admired this conquest. He knew that Austria, in possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, must renounce the right of opposing, and that the protests of Turkey involved no danger for the peace of Europe or the tranquillity of France. Confronted by Italy alone he did not hesitate to sacrifice her friendship to the glory of endowing France with one of her finest and least costly conquests, thus completing her African possessions. Yet he almost voluntarily went out of office, making room for Gambetta. When the latter speedily fell and was succeeded by M. de Freycinet, Ferry joined the Cabinet as Minister of Public Instruction. Then for about a year, during the Duclerc and Fallières Cabinets, he held aloof. On the fall of the Fallières Cabinet, which had lasted scarcely a

month, he assumed the Premiership and the Ministry of Public Instruction. It was then that he committed the gravest political mistake of his life in applying Article 7, and in letting loose against him a tempest of hatred from those whom he had wounded, a tempest which has never lulled. He soon exchanged the portfolio of Public Instruction for that of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

A second ordeal awaited him. Captain Henri Rivière, by his imprudence and foolhardiness, perished in Tonkin. A cry of wrath and indignation went up throughout the whole of France, and under the pressure of this unanimous clamour Jules Ferry undertook the conquest of Tonkin, which his enemies were to use henceforward as a popular malediction against him. He obtained the surname of "Tonkinois." Strangely enough—and this is an illustration of the diversity of national character—whereas Lord Dufferin proudly bears the title of Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, Ferry bore with painful resignation the nickname of the "Tonkinois," which his adversaries had fastened on him as a by-word. Yet he had hesitated to avenge Captain Rivière's death ; but, had he left that death unpunished, much more violent insults would have assailed a man who would have been charged with exposing France to the contempt of the world. Ferry may be blamed, however, in the management of the Tonkin affair for having himself been ignorant, or at least having left the country in the dark, on the magnitude of the sacrifice that the conquest exacted, and for having prolonged the uncertainties and dangers of that conquest by not grappling with it resolutely and completing it quickly. Had France known what was in store she would, no doubt, have thought twice before embarking on the undertaking. The future of the French colonies in the Far East will alone show if his country, bowing before the greatness of the result, will pardon Jules Ferry for having thrust it into this business. But this mistake, if in the eyes of posterity it remains a mistake, was soon avenged on its author. General Négrier, undergoing a defeat at Lang-son, telegraphed what appeared to be a disaster, and delivered up Ferry defenceless to his adversaries. The General's despatch was published one Sunday, and Ferry's fall on the morrow could be confidently predicted. He fell indeed, and fell to remain for eight long years as though buried in the ruins of his fall.

During the two years of his Ministry he had endeavoured to render the relations of France and Germany less acute. With this view he had tried to divert the resentment of the country, and at that moment there appeared under his inspiration a perfidious article entitled "Our Friends the English; our Enemies the Germans," the sarcasms of which, recalling the old adversary of the Empire, clearly indicated its source. But the long years of disgrace that he had endured, the long meditation in which he must have indulged, the incessant labour of this entire period of retreat had singularly tempered and sobered him. During these years of painful seclusion and melancholy effacement the salutary effect produced on his mind by that solitude and the injustice which he was enduring were often noticed. His haughtiness had vanished; indulgence and charity and juster perceptions had taken the place of his former harsh and overbearing temper. His words betrayed the change. His utterances had become the expression of a mind more serene and riper with the fruit of a long and instructive experience. From time to time he dashed into the fray, but the indignation then manifest in his words was a sincere indignation, arising from love of the public weal. He was still what he had always been —an untiring combatant who enjoyed the combat. "I frankly confess," he said one day, "it is not office that I like, but the conflict."

Yet of late even this passion for conflict had lessened, and one felt that in a mind which had known nothing but political strife a desire for conciliation at times germinated, and that he was anxious to find a ground on which all good citizens without distinction of party could unite. It is probable that he would have laboured to his utmost in this spirit if Providence had prolonged his life, and that he might have long occupied that Presidency of the Senate to which his fellow-members had recently elevated him. All this may be seen in the speech which he delivered on assuming the Presidency of the Senate. This speech contained none of the aggressive ideas expected. It bore the mark of the new spirit of conciliation taught by the long years of his ostracism, and it may be said that by a mysterious presentiment of his approaching end he had made that speech the testamentary summary of the great change. And this change was quite sincere. In a letter which one of his friends who knew him best wrote to the Pope, he said :—

"Your Holiness need not be anxious about the sudden elevation of M. Jules Ferry to the Presidency of the Senate. Painful experience has taught him to take a truer and more sagacious view of institutions—of all institutions. He now feels that men need a supreme guide; that the education of nations is not advanced enough to dispense with a morality directing and supporting them; and he is now inclined to a reciprocal toleration, which will govern all his acts, will inspire him with respect for all convictions, and will make him the watchful servant of all that is great. Your Holiness will soon see that he is the French statesman with whom you may treat most easily on the ground of a mutual respect and loyalty."

We do not know what will be the immediate consequence of his death, but it is certain that France loses in him a mind full of resource, a devotion without limit, a force which it might have found useful in its hour of danger. Let us hope that the calumny and the hatred of former times will be silent before this tomb which has just opened to receive one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of the Third Republic.

LORD DERBY

1826–1893

Obituary Notice, Friday, April, 22, 1893

The death of Lord Derby removes from public life a statesman of whom Englishmen, no matter of what party, have long been proud. For fully forty years he has held high office and played a great part in the State ; he has never failed to act with dignity, and generally with sagacity ; and often in the future, when heated partisans are forward with rash counsels, we shall miss the unfailing reasonableness and cool good sense of Lord Derby.

He was the eldest son of the 14th Earl of Derby, who was three times Prime Minister, and was born at Knowsley Park in July 1826. He was educated at Rugby under Dr. Arnold, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. It cannot be said that he was much influenced by Arnold, though he always spoke of him with respect. At Cambridge he worked hard and to good purpose. He gained a medal for declamation, besides several other college prizes, and in 1848 he took a first-class in the classical tripos, and he was also placed among the junior optimes in mathematics. From his early years he was destined for public life, and those who heard him speak at the festivities at his coming of age at Knowsley predicted his success as a speaker. He stood as a protectionist for Lancaster in March 1848, but by six votes he was beaten by Mr. Armstrong, the Liberal candidate. On quitting the University he set out on a tour in Canada, the United States, and the West Indies, and then laid the foundations of that thorough, perhaps unequalled, knowledge of the Empire which early marked him out as a

future Colonial Secretary. Some of the results of his observations in the West Indies are to be found in a pamphlet on *The West Indies and their Resources*, which went through several editions, and which the planters, then in dire straits, thought the ablest statement of their case. In his absence in America, he was in December 1848 elected as successor to Lord George Bentinck at King's Lynn, and that seat he held without intermission until he became a peer. Only once he sought election elsewhere; he stood in 1859 for Marylebone, but was defeated by Mr. Edwin James and Sir Benjamin Brodie. In those days he travelled much, and always with observant eyes; and one of the fruits of a visit to South America in the end of 1849 and beginning of 1850 was a brochure, *Six Weeks in South America*, written with no mean literary skill. He saw much, cheerfully endured many hardships, and ran no small risks, including a capsize when in a "dug-out," by the awkwardness of a drunken boatman. "No damage was done," he says in his characteristically soberly-worded narrative of his adventures, "but after this mishap I took the paddles into my own hands, and, trusting to some Canadian experience, steered successfully down the channel, until the imperfect light and signs of approaching rapids, induced me to run the boat's head on a sand-bank, where, in American language, we 'took out the balance of the night.'"

His first speech in the House of Commons was on 31st May 1850, in support of Sir Edward Buxton's motion "that it is unjust and impolitic to expose the free-grown sugar of the British colonies and possessions abroad to unrestricted competition with the sugar of foreign slave-trading countries," a subject which Lord Stanley had made his own. His speech was an argument, closely reasoned and well expressed, to prove that distress due to no fault of the planters, existed widely and generally throughout the West Indies; that with the existing import duties no improvement could be expected; and that the claims of the colonists were wholly distinct from those of the home agricultural interest in England. He was warmly complimented by excellent judges of Parliamentary style, and, looking at the record of the debate, in which Mr. Gladstone, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Joseph Hume, and Mr. James Wilson took part, it is plain that Lord Stanley's was the best speech in the discussion. His style in 1850 was the same as that of

Lord Derby in 1890 with one difference; though clear, measured, sober in statement, and palpably reasonable, it was somewhat more rhetorical than that of his later speeches; and the peroration in which he adjured the House to choose between a policy of real emancipation and sham was in a vein of true eloquence. He had the good sense not to abuse his success or scatter his energies. He stuck to the cause of the suffering West Indian planters, and in a letter to Mr. Gladstone, called "Further Facts about the West Indies," he again urged the necessity for legislation. When he next addressed the House of Commons, it was with reference to our colonial empire. Sir William Molesworth moved, in 1851, his memorable resolution in favour of relieving the mother country from civil and military expenditure on account of the colonies, and giving them ample powers of self-government. Lord Stanley thought that, under professions of a desire to preserve the connection of the colonies with England, there was veiled an intention to break it, and he opposed the motion in a speech of marked ability:—"I am compelled to come to the same conclusion as that of the hon. gentleman, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and, with him, to believe that the effect of this motion, if carried, would be the entire abandonment of the colonial empire. To that step I will never consent. I believe that it would be an act of political suicide unprecedented in the history of the world." A visit to India and a careful study of its resources and government occupied part of 1851 and 1852.

It was a matter of course that in his father's first short-lived Administration he should have a place; and he was appointed in March 1852 Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Neither in that office, nor in the long period when he was in opposition, was he solicitous to obtrude himself. Indeed, his political friends complained at that time of a certain luke-warmness towards the party, and an undisciplined freedom of action, which the public might admire, but which was embarrassing to the Whips. In truth, his convictions were widening, his political creed, as many signs showed, was ceasing to be in accordance with that of the majority of his party, and, except as to purely party questions, he was more of the way of thinking of Radicals of the stamp of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Hume than of his own side. In 1853 he took up, in a pamphlet on *Church Rates*, a position which his party could not accept. "To me, at least," he said, "the

claims of Nonconformists to be exempted from ecclesiastical taxation appear unanswerable. . . . I believe the time is now come when a permanent settlement of this long-vexed question can be effected, and that by no more sweeping change than a simple limitation of the rates, as now existing, to members of the Establishment,"—an opinion which he expressed in Parliament. By his arguments in favour of the opening of museums on Sundays, by his early advocacy of a conscience clause to be enforced in all schools receiving State aid, and by many indications that he was in favour of large social and economical changes, it became apparent that he sat loosely with his party; and it was natural that Lord Palmerston should, on Sir William Molesworth's death in 1855, offer him the office of Colonial Secretary—an offer which he declined. In 1858 his father took office a second time, and Lord Stanley became Secretary of State, in the first instance for the Colonies; but the Government having accepted Lord Ellenborough's resignation, Lord Stanley took his place, and it fell to him to pilot through the House the Bill for transferring the government of India from the Company to the Queen. For the tact with which he steered it past many rocks he won golden opinions. Indeed, his conduct in office at that time went far to justify his friends in predicting that he would one day lead his party. It is true that he came into collision more than once with the able Governor-General, who was then repairing the effects of the Mutiny, and that he once, at least, overruled too unceremoniously the deliberate acts of Lord Canning. He offended the missionaries and their friends by his avowed adherence to the "ancient policy of perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of India." He did his part in supporting the unfortunate Reform Bill of 1859 in a speech, which probably expressed his deliberate and final opinions as to democracy—a speech which advocated admission of the working classes to the franchise by judicious selection, and not in mass. While in opposition he busied himself with social and economical questions, the fact being that his interest was especially deep and keen in subjects which the ordinary politician affected to despise, with the result that his influence extended more and more outside his own party. They, however, were proud to put him in the forefront on momentous occasions. And so we find him supporting Lord Grosvenor's amendment to the

Liberal Ministry's Reform Bill in a famous speech, of which Mr. Bright said that what was important in it was not true, and what was true was not important, but which was, in fact, among the weightiest contributions to the discussion. He also moved the amendment to Mr. Gladstone's resolutions on the Irish Church.

The peace of Europe was far from secure when Lord Stanley returned to office, and it was a comfort to many that the conduct of foreign affairs was committed to him. This was the first searching trial of Lord Stanley's capacity as a statesman, and the trial was severe. The Eastern question began to take an ominous shape. The Cretan insurrection threatened to open up all that the Crimean war had closed. Lord Stanley strove hard to minimise the troubles of the time—it was the characteristic and, as many thought, the weakness of his foreign policy—and it was alleged that in his desire to preserve neutrality he forgot the rights of humanity towards the women and children who were left to the mercy of Turkish irregular troops. It fell to him to deal with the Luxemburg difficulty ; by the expedient of a "collective guarantee" of neutrality he staved it off ; but the cord of many strains was weak, and it soon snapped. The position to which Lord Russell had stuck in regard to the Alabama claims Lord Stanley yielded ; he admitted the principle of arbitration. He was often chided for the results of the Geneva arbitration ; but, as he more than once explained, it was one thing to admit the principle of arbitration and another to consent to arbitration under a treaty which put us on our trial under a law not existing when the alleged offences were committed. On the whole, his two years at the Foreign Office were successful, though they revealed a tendency to temporise when swift, definite action was needed, an unreasonable exaggeration of the effects of reasoning on ordinary human beings, and an inability to understand their wayward impulses. His policy in regard to Reform was less intelligible. Why he, who had no delusions on the subject of the virtues of democracy, should have suffered himself to be hurried on to household suffrage, and to make, without a protest, "a leap in the dark," probably he himself could not have explained ; his overmastering leader swept him along, assenting and resigned, but unconvinced. It was a sign among many that Lord Stanley was too ready to accept as inevitable much which in his heart he disliked.

In 1869 he was raised to the House of Lords by the death of his father. The following year he married the Dowager Marchioness of Salisbury.

In Mr. Disraeli's Administration he again was Secretary of Foreign Affairs; and he had not long been in office when the Eastern question became serious. Then came the most trying years of Lord Derby's public life. Early in 1874 he said, in answer to the criticisms of Lord Russell, "There is no serious cause for apprehension of any disturbance of the peace of Europe." The smooth course of events for a time and the *coup* which was made by the Government by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares seemed to justify confidence of tranquillity to come. But the Andrassy Note and the Bulgarian atrocities soon forced the hand of the Government, and its foreign policy became unpopular. Again he did his utmost to prevent the Eastern question opening up in all its length and breadth, and to preserve the *status quo*. Throughout all the quickly changing phases of that difficulty while he was in office—the outbreak in Herzegovina, the Andrassy Note, the war between Servia and her suzerain, the Berlin memorandum, the Bulgarian atrocities, and almost until the actual outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war—he was cool and hopeful, if not optimist. He seemed to make light of difficulties which others thought insuperable. He saw prospects of peace when others dreaded war. In his answer to the deputation introduced by Mr. Bright on 14th July 1876 he dismissed as "the most improbable thing in the world" the probability of a great European war. On the very eve of hostilities he was endeavouring to build, with the approbation of disinterested statesmen such as Mr. Forster, be it remembered, a bridge of retreat for the Russian Government. At last he was compelled to admit that in his efforts to maintain peace he had been labouring to solve an impossible problem. The Russians crossed the Danube on 22nd June 1877. Then began for Lord Derby a period of still greater anxiety. The Cabinet, it soon became clear, was divided. Lord Beaconsfield was bent upon a bold course of resistance to the advance of Russia; Lord Carnarvon, Lord Derby, and perhaps Lord Salisbury sought to restrain the warlike policy of the Premier. Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon felt themselves compelled to resign. The former returned to office, but only for a short time. Writing in January 1878 Mr. Forster describes the situation:—

"There really has been a great conflict as to policy in the Cabinet between Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, with two or three of his strongest colleagues, Lord Derby, who, though sensible, is not a very strong man, lately siding with Salisbury and Co." After the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano, when measures of aggression and warlike preparation were decided upon, Lord Derby withdrew, on 28th March 1878, from a Ministry of which he had long ceased to direct the foreign policy. He was blamed for remaining so long with Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry; he was blamed for quitting it. Whether a statesman with more initiative and less disposition to try to smooth over difficulties and to reconcile the irreconcilable would have been more successful than Lord Derby is far from certain. And, after all, if he did not avert an apparently inevitable conflict, he did much to prevent what seemed equally inevitable —England joining in the war.

From that time Lord Derby drifted more and more from his old party, and he soon made it known that he no longer even nominally belonged to it. In Mr. Gladstone's Ministry he took office as Colonial Secretary. Again his official path was troubled. It fell to him to deal with South African affairs at a critical time, and, as usual, his policy was one of caution, at times bordering on *laisser faire.* For the policy of scuttling from the Soudan, or, as he described it, "rescue and retire," he was no more responsible than the other members of the Ministry. But he was probably never very convinced of the expediency of sending Gordon to Khartoum; and none among them defended the withdrawal of our forces with more sincerity than Lord Derby. He spoke his innermost mind, when, in answer to the criticism of the Opposition, he said:—"I want to know where obligations of this kind are to end. Have we no duties nearer home? Is it assured that our civilisation is so perfect that we have nothing to do within a few miles of this place where we are sitting?" He was fond of saying, "We have got quite black men enough, and we had better not go in for more." Another illustration of his caution was furnished by his action in regard to Australasian federation. Many a Minister, thinking of the glory to be got by identifying his name with the scheme, would have been eager to outstrip public opinion; he did not mind being told that he lagged behind.

Of late years, especially since the fall of Mr. Gladstone's

Government, he took no very prominent part in public affairs. On Home Rule he separated entirely from Mr. Gladstone. He had always been disposed to treat Ireland with liberality, and he offended some members of his party by refusing to vote against the Land Bill of 1870, but he met Mr. Gladstone's proposals with unqualified resistance, and, until the death of the late Duke of Devonshire removed Lord Hartington to the Upper House, he led the Liberal Unionist Peers. To enumerate Lord Derby's many public services it would be necessary to mention the Royal Commissions over which he presided with admirable tact and patience, the many committees on which he served, his labours on behalf of many excellent societies, his connection with the Peabody Trust, his services as a model chairman of Quarter Sessions, and his work as Chancellor of the University of London. Nor ought we to forget to say a word of the magnificence of his unobtrusive liberality to every cause meriting support. The splendid traditions of his house were worthily maintained.

Lord Derby had not the gift of calling forth enthusiasm. He was too critical, too judicial in spirit, too much disposed to look at both sides, to be very popular. He was deficient in the temperament and gifts of a party leader, as he himself frankly admitted, when in 1870 he was offered the leadership of his party in the House of Lords. But he will be missed less, indeed, when prompt action has to be taken than when wild, crude schemes are in the air. Never are there too many critics of his stamp—men who are not afraid to speak publicly the plain uninviting truth, and to sit still when nervous people are saying "Let us do something." Even in his youth he was never emotional; and then it was the fashion to find fault with his chilling, "repellent good sense," and to say that he had nothing of his impetuous father, "the Rupert of debate," except the Lancashire accent. In all his speeches he meant business, and he talked it. But, what those who deplored his lack of enthusiasm forgot, never was he unduly pessimist. Of Lord Granville he once said: "By his mental constitution he was free alike from optimist enthusiasm in his earlier career, and later, from that which is often the reaction from exaggerated enthusiasm, the pessimism and despondency which are often the characteristic and the misfortune of old age." To the letter this describes Lord Derby. "Cherish enthusiasm and keep

clear of tall talk" was his advice to the co-operators at Leeds; and if he himself did not exactly cherish enthusiasm as he advised, he never fell into a vein of sterile cynicism. In the utterances of any English Statesman could there be found more sound, weighty sense, expressed felicitously and sincerely, than in a collection—which he, with characteristic modesty, never made—of his speeches? His most unfriendly critics owned that he never said a foolish thing, even if they added that, in office he rarely did the wisest thing. Though all his life since manhood had been spent in Parliament, he never over-estimated its influence for good. His was to a great extent the creed of the older school of Radicals and of Mill's "Liberty," which he once described as "one of the wisest books of our time." He did not much believe in legislative philanthropy, and if he had had his way the Statute-book would be far shorter than it is. Matters which ordinary politicians prize most he rated cheaply. His thoughts ran by preference on economical and social questions. In his address to the Co-operative Congress at Leeds, he said: "The subject of co-operation is in my judgment more important, as regards the future of England, than nine-tenths of those discussed in Parliament." He always protested against the notion that political life was "a soaped pole, with £5000 a year and lots of patronage at the top of it." Writing once to Lord Shaftesbury about burial clubs, he remarked: "We are both public men, deeply interested in the condition of the working class; and, for my own part, I would rather look back on services such as you have performed for that class than receive the highest honours in the employment of the State." Such sayings came from the innermost nature of a statesman whose services are not to be numbered by the offices which he held or the measures which he passed, who has been the political educator and trusted counsellor of his countrymen for nearly half a century, and who leaves empty a place none can fill.

Good intentions won't help or serve you if you take poison instead of medicine; and in social matters we well know that ignorant philanthropy has often caused—perhaps even now causes—as much mischief as could be done by deliberate ill-will. We want zeal; we want earnestness for truth and justice. But the zeal of ignorance is a very poor affair, and the earnestness must be very shallow and unreal which will not

bear the strictest scrutiny of the objects to which it is directed. Waste no regrets on the past if it has done less for you than it ought. . . . Dream no dreams of the future; the future will take care of itself.

That was the substance of the advice which in 1869, as Rector of Glasgow University, Lord Derby gave to the students. That was the spirit in which he acted from first to last in public life; and in days when "the zeal of ignorance" abounds we shall miss the "dry light" of his disciplined, sagacious intelligence, and his healthy contempt for dreamers of dreams.

PROFESSOR JOWETT

1817–1893

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1893

BENJAMIN JOWETT, who was born in Camberwell in 1817, was the son of a clergyman, whose only title to recollection is that he wrote a metrical version of the Psalms. The boy went to St. Paul's School, then housed in the cramped building in St. Paul's Churchyard; and his abilities developed so early that he was able to obtain a Balliol scholarship before he was eighteen. Many stories used to be current in Oxford about his preternaturally youthful appearance then and for some years later—in fact, till long after he had finished a distinguished undergraduate career and obtained his fellowship. He was a pupil of Tait's; his contemporaries were such men as Sir Stafford Northcote and the present Lord Chief Justice, Deans Lake and Goulburn, Arthur Clough, and, above all, Arthur Stanley, with whom Jowett formed a close and lifelong friendship. Among others with whom, either at this period or in later life, Jowett formed intimate personal associations, derived from common collegiate interests, were the late Lord Sherbrooke, Lord Lingen, Lord Bowen (the present Visitor of Balliol), Sir Robert Morier, the late Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Rev. William Rogers, rector of Bishopsgate, Mr. Lyulph Stanley, and the friend at whose house he died, Mr. Justice Wright. The "Oxford Movement" was in full progress at that time, but Balliol was less touched by it than many other colleges, though Oakeley and W. G. Ward "went over." As to Jowett's history during the ten or twelve years after he became fellow and tutor, not many memorials remain; but it is plain that he gradually

impressed himself upon the college and the University. To his answers before the University Commission of 1852 we shall refer presently; in 1853 he was singled out to sit on Lord Macaulay's Commission as to the mode of selecting Indian Civil Service candidates; and in 1855 Lord Palmerston appointed him to the Regius Professorship of Greek. In the same year he brought out a book which presently became famous, if only from the attacks made upon it by some of the more orthodox clergy at Oxford and elsewhere—the edition, with notes and essays, of *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Romans, and Galatians.* It was dedicated to his old colleague, Frederick Temple (now Bishop of London), "in grateful acknowledgment of numberless thoughts and suggestions, and of the blessing of a long and never-failing friendship." The interesting volumes, which presently passed into a second edition, showed not only a curious originality in the point of view, but, what was rare then among English commentators, a knowledge of German writings in the original language. They made some sensation, and confirmed the Church party in Oxford in that opposition to the Professor of Greek which afterwards found expression in the rather petty and foolish proceeding of depriving him, as far as could be done, of his salary, and thereby in giving him some of the honours of martyrdom.

When in 1859 the volume called *Essays and Reviews* appeared, under the *quasi*-editorship of Dr. Temple, it was naturally found to contain a contribution by Mr. Jowett. Its subject was "The Interpretation of Scripture," and, though it was not held to contradict the formularies of the Church, and so to lay the writer open to a prosecution, it was hotly attacked for its "tendencies" by such controversialists as Bishop Wilberforce, in his vehement and celebrated article in the *Quarterly Review.* What Bishop Wilberforce mostly complained of was "the remarkable indifference to all doctrine to be found in the writings of Mr. Jowett," and in this complaint he had certainly not gone very wide of the truth. Nor was similar criticism withheld from a quarter by no means unfriendly. Personal regard for both Jowett and Temple was insufficient to support Tait, then Bishop of London, under the shock occasioned by *Essays and Reviews.* It is not necessary at the present juncture to recall the detailed story, but the following extract from Tait's diary of 20th January 1861, sheds a light upon the

difference between the bolder and the more cautious broad churchman of a generation ago: "Jowett has been with me for two days. The unsatisfactory part of his system seems to be that there is an obscurity over what he believes of the centre of Christianity. As to the outworks, the conflict there is of comparatively little importance; but the central figure of the Lord Jesus, the central doctrine of the efficacy of His sacrifice—in fact St. Paul's Christianity—is this distinctly recognised by the writers of his school? I have urged both on him and Temple, who has also been with me, that they are bound to state for their own sakes, and for the sake of those whom they are likely to influence, what is the *positive* Christianity which they hold. It is a poor thing to be pulling down. Let them build up." But Jowett, at any rate, gave no signs of skill in the work of theological construction, and after the lapse of nearly twenty years we find Tait, who had become Archbishop of Canterbury, writing in the same sorrowful, though certainly more chastened, strain. Under date of "Addington, Monday, 26th December 1880," his diary says: "Much curious and interesting talk with the Master of Balliol. He has a strange mind. It is amusing to note how entirely uninterested he is on all the peculiar subjects now exercising the clerical mind. He lives in a region of critical and metaphysical theology apart by himself." There can be no question that the Archbishop's judgment was accurate. Theological dogmatism of all kinds was extremely repellent to the mind of a man trained upon Plato and Hegel, and well aware of the direction in which physical science was moving. If there was any one text of the Bible that Jowett would have chosen more than another for the motto of his teaching on religious topics, it was that which says, "The letter killeth; the spirit giveth life." But in recent years his critical and speculative tendencies were less observable; at any rate they were less observed by a clerical generation which almost accorded a welcome to *Lux Mundi.* It has, too, been said by those who knew the late master with some intimacy, that his sense of reverence and devotion, always deep, had become more profound under the mellowing influences of advancing age.

As long ago as 1852, when Mr. Jowett was thirty-five years of age, he had begun to make his mark as a University reformer; and it is very interesting, at this distance of time, to

read the answers which in that year he made to the questions proposed by the University Commission. That Commission, it will be remembered, had been appointed by Lord John Russell in answer to the very general demand of University Liberals, who could ill tolerate the continued existence of the abuses, the waste, and the intellectual stagnation which accompanied the then organisation of the University. The resistance of the threatened interests was as determined as the zeal of the reformers, and the members of the obstructive party one and all refused to answer the Commissioners' questions, regarding them as a gross example of unconstitutional interference. The leading spirit on the Commission was Tait, the Dean of Carlisle, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him were the late Dean of Christ Church, Professor Baden-Powell, and other capable men. Mr. Jowett's written answers to the sixteen questions of the Commissioners cover nearly all the points that were at that time interesting the University, and a few passages of them may be quoted as being eminently characteristic of him. Thus, on the subject of cutting down expenses, after proposing some more or less obvious small reforms, he proceeds: "No one supposes that measures of this kind, however desirable, will have the effect of putting an end to extravagance. Special means can do but little, if the temper of a society is averse to their enforcement. Where young men read they will not be extravagant, but they will not read unless they have good lectures and the place in which they are wears the aspect of study." After demanding the abolition of those invidious distinctions which in the old days marked off classes of undergraduates from one another, he wrote, "We hope that 'the great business of the University' will still continue to be 'to educate English gentlemen,' not the priest-gentlemen of Catholic seminaries, but men of simple manners, who felt that there would be no shame in entering on a career in which learning and usefulness would be the only claims to distinction." The position of Dissenters in the University, twenty years before the abolition of tests, is curiously illustrated by his proposal to admit them to halls and to let them take the B.A. degree, nothing being suggested as to the M.A. He adds a remark that has been amply justified by events: "There would be small reason to expect that the Dissenters would ever become the majority of our students, while by their admission the

University would more truly be made a national institution." It is interesting to notice how he disliked the idea of establishing a new and real deliberative assembly of the resident members of the University, fearing that "the University would become one vast debating society, and that the unobtrusive performance of college duties would soon give way to the excitements of the house of congregation." At this time he had a horror of contested elections, and thought that "after a few years of them the University would want to go back to what has been called 'the stable oligarchy of the Hebdomadal Board.'" It need not be said that in these last forecasts he has been proved wrong, for, though it is true that a great deal too much time is spent by able members of the University upon the machinery of minute legislation, the place has certainly not become a debating society, and the elective Hebdomadal Council is in no danger of being abolished in order that the University may return to the old system of government by heads of houses.

The work which lay before the Commission in 1852 was, broadly speaking, to break down those cramping restrictions which made of the University and the Colleges a congeries of close clerical bodies, with all kinds of local and other limitations. This work it accomplished very satisfactorily, completing it by a reorganisation of the governing and legislative powers within the University. As time went on other needs arose; needs which were expressed in a somewhat extreme form by the late Mark Pattison in his various writings. Briefly stated, the demand was for developing and strengthening the University at the expense of the Colleges, for enlarging the professoriate, for endowing research, and for thus making of the University rather the centre and the crown of national culture instead of what Pattison considered that it had actually become—a very expensive machine for continuing the education and the sports of school beyond school age. It was commonly assumed that Jowett was opposed to these ideas of transforming the University. In their extreme form he was opposed to them, for he regarded the colleges as far too valuable to be destroyed or jeopardised. But it is quite a mistake to suppose that he disliked the notion of strengthening the professoriate. On the contrary, he wished to develop it, but in conjunction with the tutorial system; and already in 1852 he had shrewdly remarked that "in foreign

Universities the professorial system has been resorted to not from choice but from necessity. Our wealth gives us the means of combining the two and of carrying on the spirit of each more perfectly." In his evidence before the second University Commission, that of 1877, of which Lord Selborne was chairman, his proposals on this matter were liberal in the extreme, but they were at the same time practical. He wanted to ensure, first the utility, and secondly the responsibility, of the professors, while at the same time he was always urging plans for inducing the most eminent men to settle even for a short time in Oxford, that by their mere presence and by occasional lectures they should raise the intellectual standard of the place. One point on which he was especially emphatic was the need for proper University buildings, whether offices or professors' lecture rooms, remarking characteristically that "a good building is always a real advantage, while other improvements are often doubtful." He was also particularly anxious to secure some classes, however small, for the new professors of more or less obscure subjects whom it was proposed to endow, thinking, in his eminently practical way, that even the greatest scholars work more heartily when a few students are working with them. To this end he was lavish in his proposals for scholarships and prizes. "If you have a Professor of Chinese," he would say, "you must find him some pupils, and the best way to do this is to offer rewards to men for studying the subject." In making suggestions of this kind he was partly guided by his eager desire to attract poor men to the University, and he well knew that in their case even a small endowment means the whole difference between coming and not coming at all.

A word may be said here as to the Master of Balliol's services in the great work of extending the usefulness of the University among classes of the population to whom till a generation ago it had been practically closed. He warmly espoused, if he did not originate, the scheme for admitting unattached students, which, under the admirable guidance of the present Dean of Winchester, very soon took root, and now appears to have become a permanent feature of the University. He was also a leader in the movement for enabling the undergraduate members of colleges to live for the whole or a considerable portion of their time in lodgings; a course which

in many cases considerably lessens the expense of residence. Often he helped, from his own resources, the career of some poor and promising lad; and a memorable occasion of happiness was when he learned, in the midst of his almost fatal illness in 1891, that one of these, who could never have come to the University without his aid, had been elected to a Fellowship in an important college. At the same time he saw that the work of the University might in many ways be brought home to numbers of persons who could have no hope of going through the regular residential course, and with this end he not only encouraged the establishment of those University Extension lectures which have now become a regular institution throughout the country, but he had much to do with granting the subsidy of £300 a year, which for a certain time was granted jointly by Balliol and New Colleges to University College, Bristol. In a word, he followed out in this as in many other ways the idea of making the great material, moral, and intellectual resources of the University available over the widest possible field. If the Universities have during the last forty years gone far to become really national, if their benefits have been more and more widely diffused and appreciated, this result, at least so far as Oxford is concerned, is largely owing to the zeal, the patience, and the practical statesmanship of the Master of Balliol.

His election to the Mastership of the college in which he had long been the ruling spirit took place in 1870, on the preferment of Dr. Scott to the Deanery of Rochester. He preached when his turn came in the University pulpit; he was a Curator of the Bodleian and a Delegate of the University Press. In 1882 it came to his turn to be Vice-Chancellor of the University; and in that post, which he held for the customary four years, he proved himself, if anything, too active, whether for his own health or for the comfort of those with whom he had to work, in his promotion of all kinds of reforms, small and great. Often it was not found possible to carry his proposals, and no little friction was the result. He was indeed a first-rate man to work *under*, but not a first-rate man to work *with*. He saw what he wanted very clearly; what he did not see clearly was that others might have good reasons for not wanting it.

At the same time, keen as was his interest in the University,

the centre and the home of his affections was always Balliol College. From Balliol his pupils passed into all the Common Rooms of the University, carrying with them the impress of his character and teaching, and thus he felt himself to a certain extent in touch with all the colleges. But it was in Balliol that his main work was done; it was there that his influence passed, strong and direct, into the minds and hearts of successive generations of undergraduates, many of them the brightest and the most receptive young men of their day. Not that he was of a communicative nature, or that he had the gift of inspiring conversation and confidences in young men; for, except when in holidays at Malvern or elsewhere he had become intimate with them, he and they were oppressed by mutual shyness, and very little was commonly said on either side. But, when a clever pupil read an essay to him or came to breakfast with him, a single pregnant sentence of the Master's would strike deeper and remain longer than a whole argument from another man. His sermons in chapel, too, which he preached twice a term, and many of which, we understand, he quite lately revised for publication, were profoundly interesting to the Balliol undergraduates, whether from the shrewd maxims on matters of practical life with which they were bestrewn, or from the beauty of their literary style, or from the depth and intensity of religious feeling which they often revealed. On the other hand, if he gave much to the Balliol undergraduates, in return he expected much from them; with every allowance for varieties of individual character and talent, he demanded hard and steady work and a strict conformity to College discipline. But it is by no means the case that he made of Balliol a bed of Procrustes, forcing every one to the same standard. If proof to the contrary were needed, it would be found in the charming little biographical memoir prefixed by him to the collected writings of Arnold Toynbee, in which he shows how glad the authorities of Balliol were to allow that young man of genius—always unfortunately more than half an invalid—to spend his time in his own way.

The mention of this name suggests another direction in which the Master of Balliol long exerted a wide and a real influence. He was keenly alive to the social danger and to the moral injury caused by the wide severance of classes, and

habitually exerted himself to bridge over the distance that exists between the well-to-do and the poor. He was fond of advising men, on leaving Oxford for professional work in London, or in any of the great towns, to give up a regular portion of their time to learning something about the life of the poor. He did not ask them to become philanthropists; he did not like the word or the associations that have clustered round it; but he asked them to study for themselves the life and the occupations of the less favoured classes, and to endeavour to aid in their instruction and amusement. It may thus be said that, though Toynbee Hall is named after his brilliant young pupil, he himself had much to do with giving the impulse that formed it. Such work as is done there and in similar institutions, he thought, "blesses him that gives and him that takes."

Mr. Jowett had held the Regius Professorship of Greek for thirty-eight years at the time of his death. When Lord Palmerston appointed him he had not made any special mark as a Greek scholar, nor indeed was he ever remarkable either for a minute philological knowledge of the language or for a profound acquaintance with the obscurer branches of Greek literature. But the publication of three such books as the translations of Plato, of Aristotle's Politics, and of Thucydides, would of itself be sufficient evidence that he did not allow the pressure of other claims to distract him from the duties of his professorship. In the preparation of these books he was long and loyally assisted by several of the Fellows of Balliol, notably Mr. Evelyn Abbott, Mr. Forbes, Mr. de Paravicini, and the late Mr. John Purves. His public lectures, especially those on the Greek philosophers, used to be largely attended, and the best men always found them stimulating, while at the same time he was always glad to give private and most efficient help to any member of the University who chose to ask for it. As to the translations, especially the Plato, with its elaborate critical introductions, they have long since taken their place in the library of every English student, and the chief of them has done not a little to introduce even those who do not know the Greek language to a knowledge of Greek thought. Some scholars, especially at Cambridge, picked a good many holes in the translation when it first appeared, but, not to mention that the chief faults were absent from the

second edition, published in 1876, six years after its predecessor, even the severest critics admit the substantial truth of the rendering and the critical insight of the commentator. A third edition of the work, with numerous alterations and additions, was published last year. Professor Jowett was indeed steeped in Plato, and it may almost be said that the intellectual object of his life was to show that Socrates was in no sense a visionary, but, on the contrary, a very serviceable model for a modern thinker.

The Master of Balliol was no politician in the ordinary sense of the term; that is to say, he never, so far as we know, made his appearance on a party platform. His fundamental idea, politically speaking, was that of the greatness of England and the Empire, and he wished to confirm and increase that greatness by enlarging the bases of it, by causing the greatest possible number of people to be proud of their country, and by making the national institutions as widely comprehensive as they could be made. Thus, as we have said, he was always anxious to give to the different classes of society a better knowledge of each other; he was unwilling to believe that there were any limits to the comprehensiveness of the National Church; he approved of the different extensions of the franchise that the last thirty years have seen, although he was naturally somewhat shocked by the cynical way in which Mr. Disraeli carried his measure in 1867. In University politics he was of course a Liberal, and, though he was never the titular leader of the Oxford Liberals, he was always their most influential adviser. For questions at Oxford have generally resolved themselves into that of maintaining or abrogating restrictions, especially clerical restrictions, and to these he was naturally opposed, eager as he was to make and keep the University great, useful, and national. On the last great question of Imperial politics, that divided and still divides the country, it need hardly be said that the Master of Balliol held very firmly to the Unionist position; since he who had spent his energies in endeavouring to widen the bases of the national life could not tolerate an endeavour to divide and to weaken the Empire.

His own house at Balliol, though it had not the advantage of a hostess—for the Master was never married—was the meeting-point of the University and the outer world. For

twenty-three years, during term-time, he seldom failed to have small "Saturday to Monday" parties staying with him. He enjoyed these parties thoroughly, and he frankly thought that both Oxford and his London guests were the gainers by seeing something of each other. Very eminent people went to stay with him; but it is nothing more than the truth to say that his personality was almost always the strongest there. There was something indefinable and irresistible in the influence which seemed to emanate from his small, fragile-looking person, with the round, fresh features, the domed brow, the silver hair. Often he said but little; but whatever he said seemed to come from a mind which "saw life steadily and saw it whole." Was he liked universally? Certainly not; but, as a compensation, he has gone down to the grave amid the devoted attachment of many generations of pupils and loving friends.

MARSHAL MACMAHON

1808–1893

Obituary Notice, Wednesday, October 18, 1893

Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, Marshal of France, Duc de Magenta, and ex-President of the French Republic, was born in the Château of Sully, on the river Dore, near Autun, 13th July 1808. He was educated partly under his father's eye and partly at the little seminary of Autun, an establishment for young men destined for the priesthood. The Count was so much encouraged by the rapid progress made in his son's studies that he sent him in 1825 to the famous military school of St. Cyr, at Versailles. After two years of successful study he entered the army and plunged with ardour into the campaign of conquest undertaken by the French in Algeria. He exhibited such talent and bravery that he speedily won renown. As a lieutenant he acquired fame and the Cross of the Legion of Honour by fighting the Kabyles along the slope of the Atlas. After the combat of the Col de Terchia, in which he was aide-de-camp to General Achard, the officer in command, the latter said to him, "Can you carry to Colonel Rullières, at Blidah, the order to change his march? As the mission is dangerous I will give you a squadron of light dragoons as an escort." The young officer refused the escort, declaring that it was either too little or too much, and preferred going alone. Approaching to within half a mile of Blidah he saw groups of the enemy's horsemen on each side, as well as behind him; but he went firmly on, knowing that a deep precipice, called the ravine of Blidah, was a little way in front of him. He there drove his horse, a high-blooded animal, at

the tremendous chasm, and the animal, without hesitation, sprang into mid-air. The rider held his seat immovably, and escaped unhurt, but was obliged to abandon his charger, which had its forelegs broken. The Arabs were amazed at MacMahon's daring. Not one of them ventured to take the desperate leap after him, and he reached Blidah in safety. Recalled to France from Algeria, it was only to gain further distinction under Achard in the expedition to Antwerp in 1832. Attaining the rank of captain in 1833, he returned to his African campaigns. He commanded wild cavalry charges across plains infested with Bedouins, and was conspicuous for dash and bravery at the siege of Constantine in 1837, where he fought side by side with the Duc de Nemours, and with the young officer who afterwards became Marshal Niel. "From that time until 1855," says one who was familiar with his career, "he was almost constantly in Algeria, rising steadily in rank, making brief visits to France, where he was adored as a *beau sabreur*, but remaining apparently absorbed in his profession. At forty-four he was a Division General who had seen twenty-six years of active service. The wild tribes of the desert knew him as 'the Invulnerable,' and feared his prowess." MacMahon was nominated Major of Foot Chasseurs in 1840, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Foreign Legion in 1842, Colonel of the 41st of the Line in 1845, General of Brigade in 1848, and General of Division in 1852.

The Crimea furnished the next great field for the display of his indomitable courage. In 1855, when General Canrobert left the scene of war, MacMahon was selected by the Emperor to succeed him in the command of a division. When the chiefs of the Allied Armies resolved on assaulting Sebastopol, 8th September, he was assigned the most perilous position in the grand final attack on the Malakoff Redoubt. MacMahon said to Marshal Niel, "I will enter it, and you may be certain that I shall not be removed from it living!" Then ensued a colossal and terrible struggle, which will redound for ever to the military credit of the French. Pélissier sent the daring General a timorous caution to beware of some unexpected explosion, after the Russians had deserted the tower, but MacMahon's only answer was, "Here I am, and here I remain!" Amid perils of the deadliest character he held to his post, and the vigorous blow struck by him hastened the fall of Sebastopol. On his return to France after the close of hostilities in the East,

Marshal MacMahon was ill at ease. Honours were showered upon him, including that of Senator, conferred in 1856, but he longed for a more active life. Refusing the highest command in France, he was at his own earnest solicitation sent back to Algeria, where he once more attacked the Kabyles, severely defeating them. Some years later, after his return to France, he cast his vote in the Senate against the unconstitutional Law for General Safety, which was brought forward at the instigation of Napoleon III., after the abortive attempt at his assassination by Orsini.

In the Italian campaign of 1859 MacMahon greatly distinguished himself. At the battle of Magenta his conduct was particularly bold and sagacious, for although he had received no orders to do so, he pressed forward, and arrived in time to secure the victory for the French—a piece of service which gained him the highest rank in the French army. The battle was fought on 4th June. The French and Sardinian allies numbered 55,000 men, and they defeated 75,000 Austrians, the latter losing 10,000, besides 7000 prisoners, and the allies only 4000. The Marshal's baton and the title of Duc de Magenta fell to MacMahon for his share in this decisive engagement. On entering Milan the victorious General was received with the liveliest acclamations; and, as he rode in at the head of his troops, he took up in his arms a little girl who offered him a bouquet, and carried her forward, smilingly caressing her. This affectionate action redoubled the enthusiasm of the populace. At the coronation of William III. of Prussia in November 1861, MacMahon, at the head of a brilliant Embassy, represented France, and during the *fêtes* on that auspicious occasion the Duke and Duchess of Magenta were much in the company of the Prussian Prince and Princess Royal.

MacMahon was nominated Governor-General of Algeria by decree 1st September 1864. By this act Napoleon desired, it was said, to relegate one who might prove a somewhat formidable rival into comparative obscurity. The Marshal's action in this new sphere formed the least successful episode in his long and honourable public career. It is only fair, however, to state that he was hampered by the Emperor's orders; and complaints of the misery of the province were so numerous that twice in the course of 1870 he sent in his resignation to his

Imperial master. The Governor-General managed to institute some important reforms in the colonies, but the Emperor's scheme as a whole was a complete failure. The French and other European colonists became so dissatisfied that a large number of them left for Brazil, while thousands of the natives perished from hunger. A great outcry was raised in France against the Marshal, whose policy was also severely censured by Mgr. de Lavigerie, Bishop of Algiers. But it was the Emperor who was chiefly to blame for this miserable fiasco. At length the accession to power of the ill-fated Ollivier Cabinet was the pretext chosen for abandoning the idea of founding an Arab kingdom under military rule, and Marshal MacMahon was relieved of his Governor-Generalship.

When Europe was startled in 1870 by the news of the declaration of war between France and Prussia, Marshal MacMahon was appointed to the command of the First Army Corps, an act which clearly demonstrated the reliance placed by France upon the hero of the Malakoff and of Magenta. His mission was the defence of Alsace. Although the declaration of war was made only on 15th July, by the 30th of the same month the Germans had three armies in the field, numbering no fewer than 518,800 men, with 7584 guns. The French, on the contrary, had with difficulty collected 270,000 men with 925 guns by the beginning of August, and the army was deficient in transport and equipment. The Emperor assumed the chief command, and had 128,000 men between Metz and the frontier at Saarbrück, some 47,000 under Marshal MacMahon on the eastern slopes of the Vosges Mountains, 35,000 in reserve at Châlons. The first engagement took place on 2nd August, when General Frossard's corps drove out the weak German detachment in Saarbrück, but did not follow up its success, and the Germans took the offensive the next day. On the 4th the Third German Army, under the command of the Crown Prince, met General Douay's advanced brigade near Wissembourg, defeated it, and then pressed forward. On the 6th the Crown Prince attacked the united Army Corps of Generals MacMahon, Failly, and Canrobert, drawn up in position at Woerth. MacMahon was in chief command, having under him some 50,000 men in all, and he occupied a strong defensive position on the slopes of the Vosges. The Marshal fought courageously against tremendous odds (the Germans having about 120,000 men), and he braved death in the most

reckless manner, wringing testimonials of admiration from his enemies. Hurling his superb regiments of Cuirassiers against the enemy, for a time his spirit and daring rendered effective the most magnificent and desperate cavalry charges of modern warfare. But the display was powerless against the well-laid plans and superior force of the Germans. He was compelled to fall back upon Nancy, leaving in the enemy's hands 4000 prisoners, 36 cannon, and two standards. On the 7th he retired to Saverne, and from thence he proceeded to Toul, which he reached on the 13th; Rheims, which he entered on the 21st; and Rethel, where he arrived on the 22nd.

MacMahon's retreat was so ably conducted, however, that the Emperor confided to him the supreme command of the new levies which he was mustering at Châlons. This new army was the last hope of France. The Gardes Mobiles were called out, and these, with the remains of MacMahon's army, formed a body of 120,000 men, with 324 guns; but the troops were much disorganised, and almost entirely without discipline. The Marshal was ordered to effect a junction with Bazaine's forces at Metz. To effect this MacMahon began a northerly march on 21st August, without intelligence reaching the Germans, part of whose Second Army was again in motion towards Paris. On the 25th the Germans learned, as it was alleged, through a telegram in a foreign newspaper, of MacMahon's movements, and they at once changed the direction of their march so as to intercept him. The effects of want of discipline, together with contradictory orders, had greatly delayed the French commander's march, and he was much harassed by the enemy. Finally on the 30th, the 5th Corps, under De Failly, having encamped near Beaumont without taking the precaution of protecting themselves by a chain of outposts, though it had been engaged the previous day, was surprised and driven northwards on Sedan. MacMahon here collected his dispirited troops, but only to find that the enemy had surrounded him, and by vigorous forward movements had captured the bridges over the Meuse and the commanding positions round the town. The fierce and decisive battle of Sedan commenced early on 1st September by the attack on Bazeilles. This village was captured by the Bavarians, and recaptured by the French and ultimately burned. By noon MacMahon had been dangerously wounded in the thigh, and he resigned his command to General

Wimpffen, as the next senior officer, so that the Marshal was not responsible for the events and disasters which followed. General Wimpffen found further resistance hopeless, in spite of the gallant charges of the French cavalry under General Marguerite, who fell at their head. Nearly 500 guns were playing upon the French, who were crowded into Sedan or under its walls, and at 5 P.M. the white flag was hoisted on the citadel. Next day the Emperor Napoleon, who was with the army, surrendered with 83,000 men, and General Wimpffen signed the capitulation. MacMahon, who was taken prisoner with the rest of the army, was authorised by the King of Prussia to reside at Pourre-au-Bois, a little village on the frontier of Belgium, but as soon as his wound was sufficiently healed, he voluntarily shared the captivity of his comrades in Germany, residing at Wiesbaden until the declaration of peace.

Returning to Paris on 16th March 1871, the Marshal was nominated by M. Thiers Commander-in-chief of the Army of Versailles, and he forthwith set to work to suppress the Communal insurrection which had broken out. He successfully conducted the second siege of Paris, thus, to a certain extent, wiping out the memory of Sedan, and ably assisted the President in the reorganisation of the army. On 28th May he issued a proclamation announcing the deliverance of Paris, and the annihilation of the insurrection and its supporters. With 60,000 men in a furious seven-days' fight inside the walls of Paris, he had succeeded in overthrowing the Commune. Throughout the whole struggle MacMahon was as calm and intrepid, yet as prompt in action, as in all his other campaigns. It was fortunate for France that so strong a man had been entrusted with the task of suppressing so determined a movement as that organised by the Communist faction. In December 1871 the Marshal was requested by the Parisian Press Union to become a candidate to represent Paris in the National Assembly, but he refused to accept the nomination. At the supplementary elections of 2nd July following, several departments (among others the Seine) offered to elect him their representative, and a strong party in the Assembly desired to make him Vice-President of the Republic, but he declined these honours, and refused to have anything to do with politics.

When M. Thiers resigned the Presidency of the Republic, 24th May 1873, Marshal MacMahon was elected to the vacant

office by the Assembly. Of the 392 members who voted, 390 supported the Marshal. While MacMahon himself was unwilling to accept the office, and was no doubt sincere in his resolve, it is said that his ambitious wife was determined that he should receive the Presidential office. She had put his name about, chiefly through the *Figaro*, as the champion of order, so that when the Monarchical majority of the Chambers had made up its mind that M. Thiers was too honest to be a useful cat's-paw, the way was paved to overthrow him and elect MacMahon. The Marshal, after considerable persuasion, accepted the Headship of the Executive, and his consent was carried back to the Assembly, couched in a letter which was a model of manly straightforwardness and modesty. "A heavy responsibility," he wrote, "is thrust upon my patriotism, but with the aid of God, the devotion of the army, which will always be the army of the law, and the support of all honest men, we will continue together the work of liberating the territory and restoring moral order throughout the country. We will maintain internal peace and the principles on which society is based. That this shall be done, I pledge my word as an honest man and a soldier." He at once proceeded to form a Conservative Administration, his Ministers being the Duc de Broglie, Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Council; M. Ernoul, Justice; M. Beulé, Interior; M. Magne, Finance; General de Cissey (who remained *par interim*), War; Vice-Admiral Dampierre d'Hornoy, Marine and Colonies; M. Batbie, Public Instruction; Public Worship, M. Desseilligny; and Fine Arts, M. de la Bouillerie. The new President was early offered an occasion for showing his determination to support the sovereignty of the National Assembly. An officer of the army having refused to recognise that sovereignty, MacMahon issued a proclamation gravely rebuking the officer, and containing a warning against such insubordinate conduct in future.

General Changarnier presented to the Assembly on 5th November 1873 a proposition to the effect that MacMahon's power be confirmed for a period of ten years, and that a commission of thirty be appointed to make studies for projects of constitutional law. This proposition was presented to the President by a committee headed by the Comte de Remusat. The Marshal expressed himself fully willing that the passage of constitutional laws should accompany any prolongation of his

own powers, and on 17th November 1873 he addressed to the Assembly a message in which he declared in favour of a confirmation of his powers for seven years and a determination to use all his influence in the maintenance of Conservative principles. After a lengthened discussion the Septennate was adopted on the night of 19th November by a vote of 378 against 310. The unexpected *coup d'état* in favour of Henry V. was thus left unexecuted, the Marshal having decided to abide by "existing institutions."

Before the close of the year, Marshal MacMahon, as Chief of the Executive, was compelled to decide the question of life or death as affecting an old comrade in arms. On 10th December the Court-martial of General Officers appointed to investigate the serious charges against Marshal Bazaine delivered its judgment through the mouth of its president, the Duc d'Aumale. On the charge of political bad faith the Court returned no direct verdict; but on the issue whether the Marshal had done all that was required by duty and honour, he was, by a unanimous vote, found guilty. The Court condemned the prisoner to degradation and to death, but at the same time recommended him to mercy. Two days afterwards President MacMahon commuted the punishment of death to confinement for twenty years in a fortress, and remitted the ceremony which, according to law, accompanies the sentence of degradation. He was, however, deprived of all his dignities, dismissed from the Army, and sent to undergo his sentence at the Ile Ste. Marguerite, a small island just off Cannes, on the Mediterranean coast. Here Bazaine lived for nine months, but on the plea that the health of the children was affected, Madame Bazaine left the island and sought an interview with Marshal MacMahon, in the hope that he might be induced to allow her husband to pass the rest of his days an exile but not a prisoner. But the President declined to interfere, and it was generally believed that the coldness of his refusal induced Bazaine to try his chances of flight, in which, as is well known, he was successful.

Marshal MacMahon's life, while President of the Republic, was of the simplest possible character. When at Versailles he lived in the modest Prefecture which was occupied by King William during his sojourn in front of Paris. The Marshal always rose at 6 A.M., rang for François, an old soldier, who

had been his valet for many years, and ordered a cup of black coffee. He spent the early morning in his private study with his secretaries and aides-de-camp, except on days when the Council of Ministers assembled. He invariably presided at this Council. He breakfasted towards noon, spending almost as little time at his meals as an American man of business, and then received visitors from 1 to 3 P.M. From that time until early evening he was in the saddle, reviewing regiments or inspecting barracks. On Thursdays he gave official receptions and dinners, and, save on extraordinary occasions, retired to rest punctually at half-past 10. In Paris the Marshal-President occupied the palace of the Élysée, where numerous brilliant *fêtes* and receptions were given each season. Madame MacMahon and her children were seen much in public, and the Duchess was a leader in all works of charity and benevolence. The Marshal was not so bigoted against the German Imperial Family as many of his countrymen, and it may be mentioned as an interesting circumstance that in 1873, when the Empress Frederick (then the Crown Princess of Germany) visited Paris incognito as Countess von Lingen, the Marshal-President himself took her to Versailles and Saint Cloud, and showed her over the ruins of the Palace at the latter place.

Although Marshal MacMahon won the affection of the peasant population in his journey through the provinces after the declaration of the Septennate, his policy soon alienated the Republicans of the great cities, and his government became very unpopular owing to its severe repression of Republican ideas. In the National Assembly matters remained in suspense between a return to the Monarchical principle and a thorough acceptance of the Republic until 1875, when, by the accession of some Orleanists to the Moderate Republican Parliamentary party, it became possible to pass constitutional laws for the Republic. A Senate and Chamber of Deputies represented the people; a President elected for seven years, and irremovable, stood at the head of the Government. The general election held in virtue of the constitution proved that France, under universal manhood suffrage, was now in favour of a Parliamentary Republic. But in 1877 the constitutional crisis became once more acute. On 16th May Marshal MacMahon addressed to M. Jules Simon, the President of the Council—a statesman of moderate views—a letter reproaching him with

incapacity. This compelled M. Jules Simon to resign, and a new Ministry was formed. The Duc de Broglie became President of the Council, and M. de Fourtou Minister of the Interior, while the Duc Decazes remained at the Foreign Office, and General Berthaut retained his post as Minister of War. The Chamber of Deputies was immediately prorogued, and the Senate, by a small majority, resolved to exercise the power conferred by the constitution, by concurring with the President of the Republic in a dissolution. Accordingly, the Marshal dissolved the Chamber of Deputies by a decree dated 25th June 1877. The Marshal was confident of the result of an appeal to the country; but he was grievously mistaken, as M. Gambetta prophesied he would be; nor did his electoral campaign improve matters. After a stormy period, during which the Government mercilessly applied great pressure upon the constituencies, the elections for the new Chamber were held throughout France on 14th October, resulting in the return of 335 Republicans and 198 Anti-Republicans. The latter were classed as 89 Bonapartists, 41 Legitimists, 38 Orleanists, and 30 MacMahonists.

The Marshal-President endeavoured to ignore the significance of the elections, and in his desperation at first appointed an extra-Parliamentary Cabinet under General Rochebouët. But the Republican majority refused to vote the supplies, and after a brief interval of hesitation, the President came to the conclusion that M. Gambetta's famous alternative—*se soumettre ou se démettre*—must be acted upon. He consequently yielded to the Republican majority, and a new Ministry was formed under the presidency of M. Dufaure. This was on 14th December 1877; so that after seven months of great public uneasiness the prolonged political crisis was brought peacefully to a close. The Senatorial elections at the beginning of 1879 gave the Republican party an effective working majority in the Upper Chamber. M. Dufaure's Cabinet was at once pressed to remove the most conspicuous Anti-Republicans among the generals and officials. Marshal MacMahon refused to sanction the law brought in for this object, but perceiving that resistance was useless, he resigned the Presidency on 30th January 1879, and was succeeded by M. Grévy. While President of the Republic, Marshal MacMahon was decorated with the insignia of various foreign orders.

In personal appearance the late Marshal was a handsome and striking man, and his long, temperate, and active life left but few traces of fatigue or old age upon his features. He was of medium height, of regular and somewhat austere habits, and of irreproachable elegance in his manners. Against his private life there was never a whiff of calumny, and he was universally respected by his countrymen. He was a superb horseman, an enthusiastic sportsman, and was passionately devoted to the army and to all developments of the military administration. He seldom appeared in uniform, however, and the only mark of distinction he wore was the red riband. His most marked characteristics were a love of children and a fondness for study. He was probably as well versed in military history as General Faidherbe, and was often to be seen busy with a child and a map upon his knees. Shy in society, he appeared sometimes almost sad, and frequently ill at ease. He was a familiar figure upon the Boulevards, where he never appeared without a cigar in his mouth, but he was seen to the greatest advantage in his family. As a man and a soldier he was distinguished for the most scrupulous honour, and Frenchmen may justly be proud of his brilliant services and his irreproachable character. It is understood that after his retirement from the Presidency, the Marshal employed a portion of his leisure in compiling his memoirs; and these, whenever they appear, should have a profound interest for France, and indeed for Europe at large.

M. GOUNOD

1818–1893

Obituary Notice, Thursday, October 19, 1893

Charles François Gounod was born on 17th June 1818, in Paris, almost within the shadow of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près. His father was a painter, or rather a restorer of pictures; from his mother the composer inherited his musical powers, since she was a musician of some accomplishment and a successful teacher of the pianoforte. It is related that at two years old he could tell the pitch of notes; this, like most stories of the kind, must be taken with a certain amount of reserve, but it is a sufficient indication of strong instinct for the art. He received a good classical education at the Collège de St. Louis, and in 1836 entered the Conservatoire, where he studied under Halévy, Lesueur, and Paër. In the year after his entry he came off second best in the competition for the "Grand Prix de Rome," and two years afterwards won that coveted distinction with his cantata *Fernand.*

To a mind constituted as Gounod's was, with his strong religious and artistic instincts, the three years' stay at the Villa Medici was of the greatest possible advantage, and he was in after life one of the warmest defenders of a system which enforced this term of residence upon those who attained its greatest distinction. Unlike two greater masters than himself, Mendelssohn and Berlioz, whose widely different natures agreed in the one point of considering Palestrina's music rather dull, Gounod could appreciate the music of the early Italian school, and his first attempts at composition show that he had studied it to some purpose. A mass in three parts, with orchestral accompaniment,

was performed at San Luigi dei Franceschi on 1st May 1841, so that his career as a composer may be said to have stretched over half a century. A longer period of creative activity was granted to Handel and Haydn alone among the great masters, and it is strange to notice how much smaller the bulk of Gounod's work is than that of either of these composers, even when we make due allowance for the far greater amount of work which in modern times has to be put into a single composition. For nine months Gounod lived in Vienna ; as in Rome he had learnt what Palestrina meant, so in Austria and Germany the greatness of Bach was revealed to him, for we may take it for granted that with Mozart and, to a certain extent, with Beethoven he had been familiar for many years. A *Requiem* performed in the church of St. Charles, in Vienna, on All Souls' Day 1842, had the honour of being highly praised by Mendelssohn. Parts of this work were considered worthy of being incorporated into *Mors et Vita*, and one passage into *Faust.*

On his return to Paris he became organist to the chapel of the Missions Étrangères, and about the same time went through a course of theological study, apparently with the intention of entering the priesthood. The strong bent towards religious mysticism which his mind received at this time remained with him through life, and is to be traced in all his more serious works. It is gratifying to learn that his first public success was made in London, by the performance of four numbers from a mass in G major, at a concert in St. Martin's Hall, on 13th January 1851. M. Viardot's article on this concert in the *Athenæum* provoked so much discussion in Paris that the young composer found the public already interested in him when the time came for the production of his first opera, *Sappho* (1851), in April of the same year. Mme. Viardot, who was apparently the means of obtaining a hearing for him in London, created the principal part in his opera. In the following year he married one of the daughters of Zimmermann, the professor of the pianoforte at the Conservatoire ; he was appointed conductor of the Orphéon Society—a post which he held for some eight years—and contributed choruses and incidental music to Ponsard's *Ulysse.* His connection with the famous choral society resulted in the composition of various works, such as motets and masses, for male voices. About this time he wrote two symphonies, in E flat and D respectively, the first given at the Philharmonic in

1866, and the second, under the composer's direction, in 1871. His second grand opera, *La Nonne Sanglante*, founded upon Lewis's "Monk" (1854), was even less successful than the first, and it is no wonder that for a time the other opera-house claimed his attention. It is curious that not one of the works originally written for the Grand Opéra have ranked among his greatest successes.

At the Théâtre Lyrique were produced *Le Médecin malgré Lui* (1858), and the immortal *Faust* (1859). The latter was not accepted without reserve at first, and its success in England, where it has long been the most popular opera in existence, was ushered in, if we may take the story in Mapleson's "Memoirs" as a grave statement of facts, by a managerial trick of unexampled audacity. It would be interesting to know how far the enormous popularity of the work among us is due to the fact that, owing to the omission of some legal technicality, the work was practically free to all who chose to produce it, and the composer received no fee for the rights of performance. Things of this kind have a tendency to right themselves, and it is very probable that, if it had not been for the omission which entailed so much loss upon the composer, he never would have attained the wide popularity which was held to justify the payment of such enormous sums as those given for the two oratorios written primarily for the English market.

The success of *Faust* was immediately followed by the production at the same theatre of *Philémon et Baucis*. Originally written for the theatre at Baden in one act, it was expanded into three for the Lyrique, and ultimately was reduced to its present proportions. In spite of many dramatic shortcomings, such as the utter impossibility of accepting the figure of Jupiter on any terms short of burlesque, the piece contains so many charming numbers, and has so distinct an individuality, that it well deserves the success it has obtained in London during the last few seasons. *La Reine de Saba* (1862) was another failure at the Grand Opéra; so many numbers from it have since obtained considerable popularity that the experiment of reviving it in London (with the original libretto, of course, not in the weakened adaptation called *Irene*), might be worth trying. *Mireille*, produced at the Lyrique in 1864, was another success in the smaller forms of opera; *La Colombe*, written for the Baden Theatre, was less favourably received, but with *Roméo et Juliette* (Lyrique, 1867) an unequivocal success was again achieved. The

incidental music to Legouvé's *Les Deux Reines de France* (1872) and to Barbier's *Jeanne d'Arc* (1873) closed what may be called the composer's first dramatic period.

On the death of Clapisson in 1866 Gounod was elected a member of the Institut, and during the Franco-German war he came to London, where for some four years he was a prominent figure in the musical world. A cantata, or "lamentation," called *Gallia*, was sung at the Albert Hall on 1st May 1871, and the composer appeared at the Philharmonic and Crystal Palace Concerts, as well as at certain undertakings of his own and Mrs. Weldon's. As the largest number of his songs saw the light at this time, it may be well to refer here to his most successful productions in this branch of art. The lovely "sérénade" set to words taken from Victor Hugo's *Marie Tudor*, the cycle called *Biondina*, "Le Vallon," "Nazareth," "There is a green hill far away," and perhaps the finest of all his songs, a setting of Tennyson's "Ring out, wild bells," represent different periods of his work, but all are characteristic of the various sides of his power. It was, of course, not the best of these which attained most success in England. His relations with Mrs. Weldon led to a lawsuit which was won by that eminently successful litigant, and in 1875 he returned to Paris, having already prepared a musical version of *Georges Dandin*, which has not yet seen the light. Here he brought out three more operas. *Cinq Mars*, at the Opéra Comique (1877), a work which suffered from too hasty production, was followed in 1878 by *Polyeucte* (grand opéra), one of his finest compositions. Unluckily, the libretto was of too serious a kind to please the Paris public, and the nature of the subject has prevented its production in England. If the prejudice against operas that approach sacred subjects, however distantly and reverently, should ever be overcome in England, this should be one of the first works to be heard here, or as has often been suggested, its performance in the concert-room might be undertaken without much risk. The failure of *Le Tribut de Zamora*, his last grand opera (1882), almost coincided with the brilliant success of his oratorio, *The Redemption*, written for the Birmingham Festival of that year, and conducted by the composer in person, not without protest on the part of his opponent in the English Law Courts.

The musical public was some years in finding out that the gorgeous orchestral colouring of this work could not wholly

compensate the inherent weaknesses of its construction and its terrible lack of vigour ; perhaps, too, its popularity was checked by the unrelieved monotony of its successor, *Mors et Vita*, given at the Birmingham Festival in 1885. In Paris neither work has found wide acceptance, nor did the long-talked-of mass of *Joan of Arc*, performed with much pomp at Rheims in July 1887, obtain much more than a *succès d'estime*. Beside this and the early masses already mentioned, the list of his works includes four *messes solennelles*, a short oratorio, *Tobie*, settings of *Te Deum*, *Stabat Mater*, *De Profundis*, and other psalms, as well as short orchestral pieces, one of which, the "Funeral March of a Marionette," has gained world-wide celebrity. Scarcely less famous, though less deserving of approval from musicians, is the so-called "meditation" upon the first prelude in Bach's *Wohltemperirtes Clavier*, the undoubtedly beautiful melody of which, together with the numerous obligato parts, entirely swamps the exquisite creation of the German master. On the ethical question, however, only a minority among musicians and amateurs have hesitated to absolve the French composer. The second attempt, made on another prelude of the same series, fell comparatively flat.

There is no doubt that at one time Gounod exercised a powerful influence upon younger composers, and many of the less gifted English writers felt it almost as much as did Massenet, the most prominent of his accredited pupils ; but the younger and more vigorous school, in which the greatest names are those of Saint Saëns, Franck, Fauré, Lalo, and Chabrier, owe little or nothing to the master who has just passed away. The question cannot be avoided, What position will Gounod's works ultimately take, and are they, or any large proportion of them, of the kind that the world will not willingly let die ?

It is obviously difficult to give a decisive answer, and it must be impossible to predict the truth for some time to come. Certain considerations may, however, help in the formation of an opinion. The large admixture of a weak sentimentality in his professedly sacred compositions, including in that category the sacred songs and the English oratorios, makes it very difficult for thoughtful musicians, at least in England, to accept them as wholly sincere. In Mme. de Bovet's admirable and discriminating memoir, recently published, she remarks, comparing his sacred works with those of Massenet, that Gounod

"is not, and does not wish to be, the Renan of music." To this we quite agree, and, if an analogue in literature must be found for the French composer, it would be far more just to call him the Archdeacon Farrar of the art. His highest flights in the way of sacred, if not devotional, music are undoubtedly to be found in places where they would not at first be expected; the second, fourth, and fifth acts of *Faust*, and *Polyeucte* in passages too numerous to refer to, have a vigour of expression which is sadly to seek in *The Redemption.* The winsome grace which is to be found in his greatest opera, as well as in *Roméo et Juliette*, in the shorter idyllic operas, and in many of the French songs, has far more of the element of permanence in it, and while opera lasts it is probable that the best of these will not be forgotten.

SIR ANDREW CLARK

1826-1893

Obituary Notice, November 7, 1893

Sir Andrew Clark was descended from a family of farmers, who came originally from the Border and settled at Ednie, in the parish of St. Fergus, about three miles from Peterhead. His father is said to have received a medical training, and to have practised in the parish for many years; but the future great physician was born in Aberdeen, on 28th October 1826. He lost his father when about seven years old, and was brought up under the care of his uncles, being educated at Aberdeen and at Edinburgh, where he was highly distinguished as a medical student, and carried off prizes in many subjects. He also gained by examination one of the best bursaries in the University of Aberdeen. After obtaining a qualification, he assisted Dr. Hughes Bennett as a pathologist, and also Dr. Robert Knox, under whom he acted for some time as demonstrator of anatomy; and he then entered the medical department of the Royal Navy. After a short period of service afloat, his special knowledge of diseased structure led to his appointment as pathologist to the Royal Naval Hospital, at Haslar, where he taught the use of the microscope in the investigation of disease. About 1853 he competed successfully for the then newly-constituted office of Curator to the museum of the London Hospital, with the intention, as it was understood, of confining himself to the study and teaching of pathology. But a vacancy soon occurred among the assistant physicians, and Mr. Clark, yielding to the urgent advice of the late Mr. Curling, then senior surgeon to the hospital, applied for and obtained

the post. After this he took his doctor's degree at Aberdeen, and settled in London as a practising physician. He was admitted a member of the London College of Physicians in the same or in the following year, and was elected a Fellow of the College so early as in 1858, his great abilities and sterling character having already made themselves felt in the profession. In the subsequent thirty-five years he has held in succession every office in the College; for, after having been Croonian and Lumleian Lecturer, Councillor, Examiner in Medicine, and Censor, he was elected President in 1888, and has since been annually re-elected. Among other professional distinctions, he has been Lettsomian Lecturer to, and President of, the Medical Society of London, and President of the Clinical and of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies. He passed through the usual routine of office at the London Hospital, and, even after he had accepted the retirement of a position on the "consulting" staff, he continued to lecture on clinical medicine to large and appreciative audiences. As in the case of most other successful physicians, he had to wait for some years, and for the vacancies created by time, before his merits were fully recognised, but he ultimately stepped, almost suddenly, into a leading position in consulting practice. His name was probably brought more into public notice than it otherwise might have been by the fact that he was known to be the trusted medical adviser of Mr. Gladstone, and the careful custodian of his health. Universities and scientific bodies were not slow to recognise his claims to distinction. He was made an LL.D. of Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an Honorary Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland. In 1883 he was created a baronet.

In early life Sir Andrew Clark's health was very delicate, and he suffered from symptoms which led to the suspicion that he was the subject of tubercular phthisis. It was partly this circumstance, no doubt, which induced him to pay close attention to the various forms of pulmonary disease which may precede or simulate consumption, conditions which were much elucidated by researches which he continued until the demands of practice rendered further work in this direction an impossibility. The life of a great physician is one that has no history. Of late years Sir Andrew Clark's time has been filled up, almost from morning to night, by the unceasing

demands of patients, demands to which both the calls of friendship and the ties of family have to some extent been sacrificed. His principal recreation has been reading, in which he could indulge when in his carriage or on a railway journey; and even from his youth he has found his chief pleasure in books dealing with the great problems of theology and philosophy, to which he has given whatever attention could be diverted from his daily tasks. There is but too much reason to fear that his almost ceaseless activity of body and mind has been the chief cause of his fatal illness, and that he has, in the strictest sense of the words, been worn out by overwork. His holidays were few, brief, and liable to interruption by claims upon him which he did not think it right to disregard. Although always early in his consulting room, he was often engaged until late in the night by an enormous correspondence; not only all written with his own hand, but every word of which was weighed with scrupulous care. Much of this was forced upon him by the thoughtlessness and want of consideration of patients, but he would not on that account delegate what he considered his own responsibility to a secretary.

In all professional relations, whether to his patients or to his medical brethren, Sir Andrew Clark's life has been an example of devotion to the highest sense of duty. No pressure of work ever induced him to neglect the thorough investigation of a serious case, and no opportunity of self-advancement ever induced him to be less than just, or even less than generous, to those whom men of smaller mind might have looked upon as rivals. He possessed an insight into the hidden causes of disease which might correctly be attributed to genius; but the faculties due to genius had been cultivated with assiduous and untiring industry. Perhaps his most remarkable power was his mastery of just and appropriate language, his aptness at expressing even familiar ideas in new and striking phraseology, or, still more, in rendering the unfamiliar intelligible by the lucidity of his words; insomuch that a consultation with him, even over the simplest case, was an intellectual treat to which all looked forward with pleasure when they had once enjoyed it, while many of his happiest phrases and epithets have come to be employed as recognised technicalities in his calling. His sympathy with sorrow or with suffering was unbounded, and often found expression in language which, to those who did not

know him, seemed excessive; but all misconceptions of this kind, at least as far as other physicians were concerned, ceased after even a short experience of him as President of the College. In this arduous position he gained what can only be described as the warm and unstinted affection of all who worked with him, and he will long be remembered with esteem and gratitude. Perhaps no man ever rose so much in professional estimation in so short a time as Sir Andrew when he was placed in the highest position to which, as a physician, he could aspire. His old pupils at the London Hospital had long regarded him as the truest and most trustworthy of friends; and the assistance which he rendered them, both by counsel in their difficulties and often, when necessary, in a more substantial way, was at once delicate and unstinted. He leaves behind him the record of a blameless life, only too soon withdrawn from a career of exceptional usefulness and kindness; and, in the quaint words of Bishop Earle, "his memory will be green when it is twice as old."

Sir Andrew Clark was twice married; first to Seton Mary Percy, daughter of Captain Foster, R.N., of Alnwick, by whom he leaves a son, Surgeon-Major James Richardson Andrew Clark, the present baronet, and two married daughters. He married, secondly, Helen Annette, daughter of the late Alphonso Doxat, of Leytonstone, Esq., and by her, who survives him, he leaves a son and two daughters, one of whom is married.

PRINCE ALEXANDER OF BULGARIA

1857-1893

Obituary Notice, Saturday, November 18, 1893

Prince Alexander Joseph of Battenberg was the second son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, brother of the late Empress of Russia, and of Countess Hauke, the daughter of a Polish General of artillery, who was, previous to her morganatic marriage with Prince Alexander of Hesse, a lady-in-waiting at the Russian Court. His elder brother is Prince Louis of Battenberg, an officer of the English navy, and one of his two younger brothers is Prince Henry of Battenberg, husband of the Princess Beatrice. Prince Alexander was born at Verona on 5th April 1857, was educated in Germany, for some time at Gotha, and afterwards at the Military School at Dresden, and became an officer of dragoons in his native country. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, he was first inscribed in a Russian lancer regiment, and was afterwards attached to the headquarters of Prince Charles of Roumania ; and at the end of the campaign, when a portion of Bulgaria was made into a vassal Principality, according to the Treaty of Berlin, he was recommended by the Russian Government to the Bulgarians as their Prince. At that time a recommendation from the Tsar Liberator was regarded by the Bulgarians as an order which could not be disobeyed or evaded, and the young Prince had many personal qualities to recommend him for the post. Tall, well built, handsome, intelligent, with an air of dignity which was softened by amiability of manner, he easily obtained a certain amount of popularity even among a people singularly indisposed to hero-worship or enthusiasm of any kind. At a meeting of the

Assembly of Notables held at Tirnovo on 29th April 1879, he was elected by acclamation, and on 6th July of the same year he made his entry into Sofia, which was to be the capital of his Principality, but which was at that time little more than a big Turkish village, abandoned by most of the Mussulman inhabitants.

No sooner had he taken possession of his post than he began to perceive that it was anything but a bed of roses. Intelligent and anxious to distinguish himself, with the inexperience and natural impatience of a youth of two-and-twenty, he set himself to the task of beneficently governing his subjects, and he soon found that his subjects had no intention of letting themselves be governed in the way he desired. The vast majority of them were an inert, silent mass, who never showed any symptoms of political consciousness or activity, except at the bidding and under the guidance of the wire-pullers. But these latter were difficult people to manage. They could not boast of birth, or political experience, or wealth, or high culture, or eloquence, or any of the other qualifications which in older countries bring men to the front of the political stage. Most of them had been small traders, or schoolmasters, or Turkish officials, or doctors, or lawyers, or students fresh from Robert College, but they were determined to get as much political power as possible into their own hands, and they were greatly assisted in this design by an extremely democratic written Constitution which left to the Prince very little freedom of action. At once the political parties, calling themselves Conservatives and Liberals, were formed, and the Prince found that good administration was regarded as secondary to party interests. He naturally fretted under this *régime*, and at the end of two years he suspended the Constitution, and obtained from a packed National Assembly, specially convened for the purpose, autocratic powers for a term of years. The experiment was unpopular, and the new arrangements did not work well; nor were the difficulties by any means lessened by the appointment of the Russian General Sobeleff as Minister of the Interior, the War portfolio being held by another Russian, Baron Kaulbars. Though the Russian Government was probably desirous of maintaining the *status quo* in Bulgaria, its local representatives acted so injudiciously that they brought about a crisis, and they so irritated the Prince that he determined to get rid of their interference by coming to terms with the native

politicians. A reconciliation was easily effected on the basis of the re-establishment of the Constitution, and the two Russian generals who had attempted to carry things with a high hand had to leave the Principality.

This was, if not the beginning, at least the first public manifestation of the rupture between the Prince and the Russian Government, and during the next two years—from September 1883 to September 1885—the breach rapidly widened. It is unnecessary to examine here the vexed question as to who was most to blame for the estrangement. Prince Alexander did not receive from the Emperor Alexander III.—a very different man from his indulgent father, the Tsar Liberator—the consideration to which he believed himself entitled, and he was accused in St. Petersburg of being no longer loyally devoted to the dynasty which had placed him on the throne. In the eyes of those who desired to see Bulgaria emancipate herself completely from Russian influence, this accusation was, of course, considered as the highest possible encomium ; but the Tsar and his Government could hardly be expected to look at the matter in this way. Russia had created Bulgaria for the purpose of having a firm footing in the Balkan Peninsula, and it was expected that the Prince and people of Bulgaria, whilst enjoying a large measure of autonomy in domestic affairs, would be content to revolve as insignificant satellites in the political orbit assigned to them by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. By judicious, dexterous management this policy might have succeeded for a good many years. By systematic mismanagement an anti-Russian movement was produced among a section of the Bulgarian politicians, and this movement was undoubtedly fostered by Alexander, who was smarting under what he considered unmerited slights and humiliations. In such a position a high-spirited, energetic young ruler might well conceive the design of playing the part of a heroic patriot and endearing himself to his people by uniting the separated fragments of the nation and freeing them from all foreign influence. With the incomplete materials at our disposal it is impossible to say with certainty how far Alexander, in his calmer moments, seriously entertained such a design. But there is no doubt that he did quite enough in Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia to arouse Russian suspicions, and from that moment his fate was decided.

When the Treaty of San Stefano was forced on the Porte,

and for some time thereafter, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg aimed at creating a big Bulgaria which was to include Eastern Roumelia and stretch from the Danube to the Ægean. But it gradually perceived that the Bulgarians, if only half-emancipated, would be more easily kept under Russian influence, and it always laid down as an axiom that the unification, if it ever took place, must be effected by Russia herself. Any attempt on the part of Prince Alexander to carry out the scheme independently must be regarded at St. Petersburg as an act of insubordination and as treasonable to Russian interests; and the way in which he acted towards the Philippopolis revolution of September 1885 seemed to prove that he harboured such designs. Without consulting the Russian Government, he accepted the union of Eastern Roumelia with the Principality, and prepared to defend the *fait accompli* by force of arms against all comers. The Tsar, to mark his displeasure, at once recalled all the Russian officers in the Bulgarian army, but Alexander, nothing daunted, determined to fight, if necessary, without their assistance.

At first the chief danger seemed to lie on the eastern frontier, where Turkish troops were being collected with the evident intention of invading the province. The intended invasion was postponed by the diplomatic action of the Powers in Constantinople; but, while the bulk of the Bulgarian forces were still collected near the Turkish frontier, the Principality was suddenly attacked on the west by the Servians, who maintained that, by the union of Eastern Roumelia with the Principality, the balance of power in the Balkan Peninsula was disturbed to their detriment. The position was most critical, for the Servian army was advancing rapidly on Sofia, whilst the Bulgarian forces were at the other end of the country; but the Prince and his officers showed themselves equal to the occasion. Pushing forward rapidly by forced marches they met and defeated the Servians at Slivnitza, and they would in all probability have occupied Belgrade if their victorious march had not been arrested by an ultimatum from Austria. In this brief campaign Alexander established for himself a considerable military reputation.

The blow aimed by Servia was thus successfully parried, and soon afterwards, thanks chiefly to the diplomatic ability and pertinacity of the late Sir William White, the danger from

the side of Turkey was also removed; but Prince Alexander had so completely compromised himself in the eyes of Russia that she could no longer tolerate his presence on the throne of Bulgaria. The insubordinate vassal who had shown himself ready even to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan, if the independence of Bulgaria could be thereby defended against Russia, must be removed. A plot was hatched in the Russian Consulate at Sofia, and on the night of 21st August 1886 the Prince was arrested in his palace by a band of his own officers, hurried off in a carriage to the Danube, put on board a steamer, and landed at Reni in Russian territory. The conspirators expected that the Tsar would arrest him, but they were disappointed; and a still greater disappointment awaited them. No sooner had the news of the kidnapping reached Tirnovo, where M. Stamboloff, then President of the Chamber, was residing, than he put himself at the head of a counter movement and brought back the Prince in triumph. His Highness, however, had been so unnerved by the kidnapping incident, and so disgusted at finding that many of the officers whom he had trusted implicitly had taken part in the conspiracy, that he was no longer anxious to remain on the throne, and in a moment of weakness, without consulting M. Stamboloff, he telegraphed to the Tsar, placing the matter in his hands. If in acting in this extraordinary way he imagined that his Majesty would show himself magnanimous and forgiving, he was soon undeceived by the reply, which left no room for doubt as to his Majesty's opinions and sentiments. At the same time he received, it is said, a hint from Berlin that he must expect no support from that quarter. He then conceived the idea of retiring for a time without abdicating, but to this M. Stamboloff objected, insisting that he must either remain or give up all rights to the throne. In view of the imminent danger of a Russian occupation, he chose the latter course, and left for ever his adopted country, fulfilling the sinister prediction of Prince Bismarck at the time of his nomination that his occupying the throne of Bulgaria would be, for him at least, an interesting *souvenir de jeunesse.*

From the moment of his abdication his attitude towards Bulgaria was always most loyal and correct, and the Bulgarians showed their appreciation of this conduct and of the services previously rendered by voting him an annuity and by many

unofficial marks of affection and respect. He married a young actress of considerable merit, Mlle. Loisinger, and settled down quietly as Count Hartenau in Austria, having received a command in the Austrian army. He was perhaps not a great statesman, but he was one of the most sympathetic personages among the minor figures of recent European history, and his name will always occupy an honoured place in the early history of the Bulgarian Principality.

SIR ROBERT MORIER

1826–1893

OBITUARY NOTICE, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1893

ROBERT BURNETT DAVID MORIER was born in 1826, and in due course went up to Balliol College, Oxford, where he laid the foundations of a life-long friendship with the late Professor Jowett. In 1849 he took a second class in *Literae Humaniores*, among his contemporaries being Lord Salisbury, who obtained a fourth in mathematics in the same year. Morier's first appointment in the public service was that of a clerk in the Educational Department of the Privy Council. Two years afterwards, in 1853, he entered the diplomatic service, to which he was to devote the remainder of his life.

The first twenty-three years of his life as a diplomatist —from 1853 to 1876—were spent in Germany, and this fact accounts for his marvellously wide and accurate knowledge of German politics. Instead of devoting himself, like the majority of his colleagues, to social frivolities and viewing current events listlessly from a comfortable distance, he sought to make himself directly and personally acquainted with the most interesting men and things in the country where he happened to be living. He was, in fact, a diligent student without being a recluse, and he enjoyed burning the midnight oil with intelligent, well-informed boon companions quite as much as with books. In his character there was a strain of unconventionality, amounting almost to Bohemianism, which was not always approved of by his official superiors of the diplomatically "correct" type, but which was very useful in so far as it enabled him to keep in touch with all sorts and conditions of men and to get a firm

practical grip of important political questions. When any important question of home or foreign politics arose, he knew the views and wishes, not only of the official world, but also of all the other classes who contribute to form public opinion, and he did not always confine himself to playing the passive *rôle* of an indifferent spectator. His naturally impulsive temperament, joined to a certain recklessness which was checked but never completely extinguished by official restraints, sometimes induced him in those early days to meddle half-secretly in local politics to an extent which irritated the ruling powers; and there is reason to believe—indeed Sir Robert believed it himself—that the enmity of Prince Bismarck, which found expression in a subsequent incident to which we shall presently refer, was first excited by activity of this kind.

During these twenty-three years, spent almost entirely in Germany, he was frequently moved from one place to another, and was more than once employed on special missions. In the ordinary diplomatic career he resided at Vienna, Berlin, Frankfort, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, and Munich. As a member of special missions he went with Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Elliot to Naples in June 1859, and, as private secretary, with Lord John Russell to Coburg in 1860, when his lordship was in attendance on the Queen. In the following year he married a daughter of the late General Peel. In 1865 he was a member of the mixed commission in Vienna to inquire into the Austrian tariff, as also of the commission subsequently appointed to carry out the provisions of the treaty of commerce with Austria. In complicated questions of German politics, even when they did not properly belong to the post which he held for the moment, he was often consulted privately by the Foreign Office authorities, and he was justly regarded as one of the first authorities on the Schleswig-Holstein question, though the advice which he gave to her Majesty's Government on that subject was not always followed. He himself believed that he was the only Englishman who had ever mastered the labyrinthine complications of that most intricate problem, and that if the advice which he gave privately to the Government had been adopted and acted upon, the Danish war of 1864, which had such momentous consequences for Europe, might have been avoided.

At last, in 1876, he was removed from Germany and

German politics by being appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal, and five years later he was transferred to Madrid. In both of these posts he had important diplomatic business to transact, and in both capitals amusing stories are still told of the strong language and strong means of pressure which he adopted when the Portuguese and Spanish Ministers had recourse to the Fabian tactics, which are commonly associated with Oriental diplomacy, but which are well understood and frequently practised by officials in the Iberian Peninsula. Of these anecdotes the following may serve as a specimen. The Portuguese Foreign Minister, wishing to delay proceedings, pretended to be ill; but Sir Robert insisted on seeing him, and finally penetrated to his bedroom. There the hunted official turned to bay and thought to protect himself by some very tall talk about the dignity of the Portuguese nation and the illustrious virtues of the Portuguese character, an insinuation being thrown out that the English Minister had reason to regret that he did not belong to that nationality. The insinuation was too much for Sir Robert's patience, and, forgetting all considerations of politeness and etiquette, he is reported to have answered: "Monsieur, si j'avais eu le malheur d'être né Portugais, je me serais suicidé entre les mamelles de ma nourrice!"

In these and similar traditional anecdotes there is, we may assume, a good deal of exaggeration, but they are at least founded on fact, and they illustrate a peculiarity which is rarely met with in professional diplomats. Sir Robert was, it must be confessed, naturally a man of violent temper, and he never quite conquered his tendency to use unnecessarily strong language; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that there is no instance on record in which this defect seriously injured any important negotiations in which he was engaged. Underneath an apparently recklessly impulsive manner there was a great deal of caution and tact, and his outbursts of temper in official intercourse generally occurred when they seemed likely to further the object he had in view. We do not mean to insinuate that these occasional outbursts were simulated, for he was a man who felt keenly and who habitually threw himself with ardour into anything he undertook, but he never completely lost his self-control, and he had an intuitive feeling of danger as soon as he got near the edge of the

precipice. Danger seemed to stimulate his faculties, and those with whom he was negotiating could not help feeling that they had before them a strong man who was thoroughly conversant with all the details of the question, who could not be circumvented, and who was certain to make the most of his position. These sterling qualities more than counterbalanced his defects as a diplomatist, and explain how, in spite of many enmities which he recklessly created, he succeeded in reaching the highest rank of his profession. And it is only fair to add that, if he had many enemies, he had also not a few stanch and devoted friends, who always maintained that under a rough exterior there was an inexhaustible fund of loyalty and tenderness. Certainly, very few men have inspired such deep and lasting friendships. In short, he had the common lot of strong natures who scorn to practise the art of gaining popularity.

Towards the end of 1884 Sir Robert was promoted to the important post of Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, and found there, perhaps for the first time in his career, a field worthy of his great abilities. At that time our relations with Russia were far from being cordial, and the Afghan frontier negotiations, with the unfortunate incident of Penjdeh, brought us within a measurable distance of war. It was fortunate, in the interests of peace, that England at that moment was represented by a strong Ambassador in St. Petersburg, a man who, whilst most anxious to remove all misunderstandings and to throw oil on the troubled waters, was not at all inclined to seek peace at any price. Sir Robert succeeded in inspiring both the Tsar and M. de Giers with a belief in his loyalty and his sincere goodwill towards Russia, and at the same time he displayed in the defence of the interests of his own country a vigour and dexterity which commanded respect and admiration. To him was due in no inconsiderable degree the merit of having found a peaceable solution of the difficult and delicate problem. As a recognition of his services he was made a G.C.M.G. in 1886 and a G.C.B. in the following year. By this time he had created for himself a most satisfactory and agreeable position in the official and diplomatic society of St. Petersburg, and his popularity was suddenly increased by an unexpected, and at first very disagreeable, incident, to which we have alluded above.

For reasons which have never been authoritatively explained, but which can be easily guessed at, a virulent attack was made

on him in the German Press, on the ground that he had during the Franco-German war transmitted to the French some important military information of a secret character. The attack proceeded evidently from Prince Bismarck, and naturally produced much astonishment in official circles. Fortunately for the accused, he had at his disposal the means of completely refuting the scandalous accusation, and it is hardly necessary to say that he did not spare his accusers. He came out of the discussion triumphantly, and, as Prince Bismarck was at that moment extremely unpopular in Russia, Sir Robert became in St. Petersburg the popular hero of the hour, and received congratulations from distinguished quarters as publicly as was consistent with official etiquette. This was the incident in his career which he used to relate with the greatest satisfaction, and on one occasion it was recalled to his memory in a way that evidently gave him the keenest pleasure. When travelling in France he received unexpectedly the greatest attention and politeness from a stationmaster, and as the train moved off he heard the amiable official say to a friend: "C'est le grand Ambassadeur qui a roulé Bismarck!"

Though Sir Robert's health was evidently failing during the last two or three years, and received a severe blow from the death of his only son, his appetite for activity remained as keen as ever, and quite recently he hoped to resume his diplomatic duties next spring. The Pamir question specially engaged his attention, and it is much to be regretted that in the negotiations with regard to this delicate question the British Government will not have the services of the distinguished diplomatist who was specially fitted to bring them to a satisfactory termination. There is no man in the service who can in every respect fill the vacant place.

PROFESSOR TYNDALL

1820–1893

Obituary Notice, Monday, December 5, 1893

By the death of Professor Tyndall science has lost one of the three great leaders in the battle which she has fought during the last forty years. The greatest of them all, Darwin, was laid to rest years ago; and Professor Huxley is now the sole survivor of the "dauntless three." Tyndall's fame among his contemporaries at large was due mainly to the fact that he was a masterly expounder of the results of science, an unrivalled experimentalist, and an unsurpassed controversialist. Unlike his friend Professor Huxley, he was little given to magazine writing, though his name often appeared in the correspondence columns of the *Times*. He won his popularity through his lectures and his books. As a lecturer and experimenter he had few equals; he was one of the earliest of Christmas lecturers to children at the Royal Institution. The famous address at Belfast in August 1874, when he presided over the meeting of the British Association, is one of the landmarks in the history of Darwinism. Merely as a specimen of the richness of diction and polish of style of which our tongue is capable, it is almost fascinating. But at the time of its delivery it created an immense sensation all over the civilised world for quite other reasons than its style. It may be taken as the first clear and unmistakable public utterance as to the aims of modern science, and as to the bearings of the doctrine of evolution on the beliefs that have influenced humanity from the beginning. But Tyndall had sentiment and aspiration enough to soften down the dogmatism in the body of the address, which grated on the minds of many of his hearers and

readers, by that tender and hopeful conclusion, ending with the famous words, "Here, however, I must quit a theme too great for me to handle, but which will be handled by the loftiest minds ages after you and I, like streaks of morning cloud, shall have melted into the infinite azure of the past." The address, delivered in the heart of Presbyterian Belfast, gave rise to so much controversy, and what Tyndall believed to be misconception, that on a subsequent occasion at Birmingham he endeavoured to soothe down the excitement by assuring the world that the address had not at all the materialistic and Agnostic bearings which on the surface it appeared to possess. However that may be, the address might be delivered now without creating any excitement at all. Tyndall hardly went further than the present Bishop of London does in his well-known work on *Science and Religion*, published a few years ago. That Tyndall had aspirations far beyond blank materialism is evident from the fact that he was one of Carlyle's most intimate friends; still, his name will be closely associated with that of Professor Huxley as an apostle of the Agnostic movement of the latter half of the present century.

But thousands who never heard Tyndall lecture have been fascinated by his books, which combine the rigidity and solidity of scientific research with the fascination of a fairy tale. Tyndall was not one of those popular writers on science who put a grain of fact in a bushel of verbiage, or who, to avoid trouble or from ignorance, represent the discoveries of science so as to mislead the unwary. The more ignorant or the more youthful his audience or his readers, the more particular Tyndall was that nothing but the rigid truth should be placed before them. Take as specimens of this class of Tyndall's work his *Forms of Water*, his *Hours of Exercise on the Alps*, his lectures on *Light* and *Electricity*, his *Fragments of Science*, his charming little work on *Faraday as a Discoverer*, and even his more advanced works on *Diamagnetism*, on *Sound*, on *Heat as a Mode of Motion*, and on allied subjects. It is beyond dispute that one of the most eminent services rendered by Tyndall to modern science has been to spread its discoveries and conclusions through the great mass of the more intelligent reading public.

The events of Tyndall's life are soon told. Though born in Ireland (in 1820), he himself liked to tell that his ancestors two centuries ago migrated from the valleys of Gloucestershire. He was proud of believing himself connected "with one William

Tyndale, who was rash enough to boast, and to make good his boast, that he would place an open Bible within reach of every ploughboy in England," and who in the end had "a bonfire made of his body." Tyndall's birthplace was the little and now almost obliterated village of Leighlin-bridge, near Carlow. His father, who had been disinherited on account of his opinions, Tyndall says himself, belonged to the poorest class of tradesmen. He was a man of singular force of intellect and independence of character, who exercised his son in all the subtleties of the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicism. Poor as the father was, he kept his son at school till his nineteenth year. Young Tyndall left school in 1839, with, among other things, a fair knowledge of mathematics. He in that year joined, in the capacity of "Civil Assistant," a division of the Ordnance Survey, with which he remained for nearly five years, obtaining experience of nearly all departments of the work. His original intention was to be a civil engineer. But in 1844 (after very nearly deciding to emigrate to America) he was employed by a firm in Manchester, and for about four years he was engaged in engineering work connected with railways. Meantime Tyndall devoted what leisure he had to the study of science, and in 1847 he accepted a post at Queenswood College, Hants, where Dr. Frankland was chemist. In 1848 they went together to the University of Marburg, in Hesse-Cassel, to work under Bunsen, to whom Tyndall said he owed obligations never to be forgotten. Here also he studied mathematics and attended lectures, and carried on researches in physics under Gerling and Knoblauch. Tyndall subsequently worked in the laboratory of Magnus of Berlin, and there he became the friend of some of the greatest scientific men of the day. In 1850 he first made Faraday's acquaintance by calling upon the great master at the Royal Institution with one of his papers. In 1851 he accompanied Professor Huxley to the meeting of the British Association at Ipswich, and thus commenced a close friendship which lasted to the end. The late Dr. Bence Jones heard of Tyndall in Berlin, and, always alert in the promotion of science and in aiding those who pursued it, had him invited in 1853 to give a Friday evening lecture at the Royal Institution. Soon afterwards, on the proposal of Faraday, Tyndall was appointed Professor of Physics in the Institution, with which he remained

connected in this capacity, and subsequently, on the death of Faraday, as Resident Director, until his retirement in 1887.

Since his retirement he has had his home at Hind Head, near Haslemere, where he built himself a house, migrating in summer to his beautiful chalet on the Bel Alp, overlooking the Aletsch Glacier. Tyndall's first visit to the Alps, with which his name has since become so intimately associated, was in 1849; his second visit, in company with Professor Huxley, was in 1856; and from that date hardly a year passed that he did not visit his beloved mountains, which to him were almost a religion. Although not the first to reach the summit of the Matterhorn, he was intimately associated with the early attempts on that remarkable mountain, and among Alpinists his name holds one of the highest places. Between 1856 and 1862 he ascended Mont Blanc three times. In 1858 he ascended Monte Rosa alone. But Tyndall was not a mere mountain-scaler. He was intensely interested in the various problems connected with ice; so much so that he visited Chamounix at Christmas 1859, and, amid circumstances of the most trying kind, succeeded in taking a series of measurements of the rate of motion of the Mer de Glace. As will be seen in his *Forms of Water*, his researches on ice, both in the Alps and in his laboratory in Albemarle Street, were long-continued and of the most varied character, pregnant with important results to science. In connection with Tyndall's researches on glaciers an unhappy controversy arose with the late Principal Forbes, into the details of which it would serve no good purpose now to enter.

While still a student in Germany, Tyndall entered on the work of original investigation. His first scientific paper was a mathematical dissertation (when he took his degree at Marburg) on "Screw Surfaces"; his first physical paper was on the "Phenomena of a Water-jet." It would be impossible here to give even a list of all the papers embodying original research which Tyndall contributed to the Royal Society, or gave to the scientific world through other media. Most of this work was, of course, carried out in the laboratories of the Royal Institution. His researches on the relations of simple and compound gases and of vapours to radiant heat are classical, and are fraught with important practical results in climatology. Neither in these nor in almost any of his other researches were Tyndall's

conclusions allowed to pass unchallenged ; but discussion is the life of science. Tyndall took criticism with equanimity when it was presented honestly and without personality or abuse, which, unfortunately, was not always the case. When roused by disingenuous attacks, or by injustice in high places to science, or by imputations on his honesty and competency, his responses were sharper than a two-edged sword.

In earlier years, at Marburg with Dr. Knoblauch, and afterwards, he devoted much time to researches on magnetism, in which also he achieved results of permanent value. He, like other scientific men of the time, was fired by Faraday's wonderful experiments. But, indeed, as the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* and of his own numerous works show, Tyndall's researches embraced a wide circle of subjects in physics—light, heat, sound, electricity. Early in his career at the Royal Institution he undertook a series of researches on the cleavage of slate rocks, which led him to important conclusions. In all that he undertook he was able to do good work for science and for the service of humanity. A long series of researches, for example, on the atmosphere as a vehicle for sound were undertaken with a view to the establishment of fog signals on our coasts. For some years, indeed, he was scientific adviser to the Board of Trade and the Lighthouse authorities; but that position he resigned in 1883, mainly because he declared that the important work in connection with lighthouses was not being carried out in honest compliance with the discoveries of science. Quite equal in importance to his work in this direction, and to his researches in electricity, were his long series of investigations on heat, which he carried out in the Royal Institution. On this subject he published several memoirs, and embodied many of the results in his work on *Heat as a Mode of Motion.* These researches branched out ultimately into a variety of directions, among others into an examination of the nature of the dust particles that fill the atmosphere, some of the conclusions being embodied in his famous Royal Institution lecture, in January 1870, on "Dust and Disease."

Faraday, there can be no doubt, exercised a powerful influence on Tyndall, who regarded his predecessor as one of the greatest and noblest of men. Like Faraday, Tyndall did not greatly care for amassing a fortune ; like Faraday, had he

cared to turn his knowledge to mercantile account, he could easily have done so. He felt perfectly content with the modest post at the Royal Institution, and with such other emoluments as came to him without much seeking. In 1872 he went to America on the pressing invitation of a number of eminent men, and spent several months in lecturing. After deducting expenses, he found a sum of $13,000 left, and this he presented to three American universities for the purpose of assisting students who devoted themselves to scientific research.

Among other public appointments held by Tyndall early in his career was that of Examiner under the Council for Military Education, to which he was appointed in 1855. Then, as ever, Tyndall had the highest conception of science and of its utility to humanity. He conceived, most probably with justice, that the particular department of which he had charge did not receive fair play at the hands of the Council. He was courageous enough to write to the *Times* and say so, much to the indignation of "My Lords." A reprimand immediately followed, which was replied to by Tyndall with the greatest respect, but complete independence of spirit. Fortunately, "My Lords," instead of dismissing Tyndall, as he expected, took his letter in good part, and sent him such a reply as left him at liberty to retain his post and his self-respect at the same time.

Tyndall had troops of friends and admirers at home and abroad, though, as might be expected, his outspokenness and angularity gave room for the "genesis" of a few enemies. He had strong views about the Union with Ireland, and our readers will remember many eloquent letters written by him of late years, full of unsparing condemnation of Mr. Gladstone's recent policy. His relations with Carlyle were of the most tender character. The story of their joint visit to Edinburgh, Carlyle to deliver his Rectorial address, and Tyndall to receive the honour of LL.D., is well known, bound up as it is with the sad episode of Mrs. Carlyle's sudden death.

Honours from Oxford and Cambridge and from other learned bodies at home and abroad were showered upon Tyndall. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society for forty years. On the occasion of his retiring from the Royal Institution he was entertained at a public dinner at Willis's Rooms, which in the character of the hosts and the attendant circumstances was

unique. The affectionate and admiring enthusiasm towards the guest was beyond all bounds. "Many notable gatherings have taken place in Willis's Rooms," wrote *Nature* on the occasion, "but we question if English science has ever been more completely represented than at the 'Tyndall dinner.' The President of the Royal Society was in the chair. The seven vice-chairmen were presidents of the most important scientific societies. The tables were crowded with men whose names are known wherever nature is studied."

In 1876 Professor Tyndall married Louisa, eldest daughter of Lord Claud Hamilton. She survives her husband.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER

1821–1894

Obituary Notice, Monday, January 1, 1894

In Sir Samuel Baker we have lost the last of a generation of giant explorers. He is to be classed with Livingstone, Burton, Speke, and Grant, the men who made the first serious invasion of the great blank which filled the map of Central Africa forty years ago. During the period that has elapsed since Livingstone discovered Lake Ngami, the map of Africa has become so rapidly crowded with its somewhat monotonous features, the continent has been so completely swept into the whirl of European politics, that it is difficult for the present generation to realise that scarcely half a century ago it was regarded as little more than an unsolved geographical problem. In the solution of this problem Sir Samuel Baker played a substantial part, though as a pioneer he must be placed somewhat behind Livingstone and Burton, and perhaps even Speke. When Baker entered Africa in 1861 to take his share in the world-old quest for the sources of the Nile, Livingstone had completed his immortal journey across the southern section of the continent, and was engaged in carrying out that expedition in the Lake Nyassa region which led ultimately to the foundation of British Central Africa. Two years before, Burton had pushed his way into the heart of the continent and located one of its most characteristic features, Lake Tanganyika, while Speke had caught a glimpse of the greatest of the Nile reservoirs, Victoria Nyanza. In the year before Speke and Grant had set out under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society to further explore this great lake, and to make certain that it actually gave

birth to the Nile. But notwithstanding all this activity, Central Africa for ten degrees on each side of the equator was a blank relieved only by uncertain patches of lakes and mere indications of rivers. The Congo was still a fragment, and the White Nile had no beginning.

When Baker began his great work in Africa he was forty years of age, and for many years had been leading a life of activity and usefulness. The eldest son of Samuel Baker of Lypiatt, Gloucestershire, Samuel White Baker was born in London on 8th June 1821. He was educated in a somewhat desultory way at a private school, and in Germany, taking up the profession of engineer. In 1843 he was married to Henrietta, daughter of the Rev. Charles Martin. From the first he was a keen sportsman, and in 1845 he went to Ceylon, partly for the purpose of elephant-hunting. But even then he was much more than a sportsman, and had the true geographer's interest in country and people, as may be seen in his interesting work, *The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon* (1854), a new edition of which was published in 1874, and also in his *Eight Years' Wanderings in Ceylon* (1855). In 1847 he established an agricultural settlement and sanatorium on the Plateau of Novera Elia, 6200 feet above sea-level. With great cost to himself, he, in conjunction with his brother, brought emigrants from England, and the best breeds of cattle and sheep to found a mountain colony. Novera Elia is now a favourite mountain resort covered with hotels and villas. In 1854 Baker finally retired from his Ceylon enterprise, and in 1855 he lost his wife. In the same year he proceeded to the Crimea, and afterwards superintended the construction of the railway which connects the Danube across the Dobrudja with the Black Sea. In 1860 he married again, his second wife being a Hungarian lady, Florence, a daughter of M. Finnian von Sass. She has been thenceforth the sharer in all her husband's arduous and dangerous enterprises.

It was in the following year, 1861, that Baker went to Egypt with the deliberate intention of doing what he could at his own expense to clear up the mystery of the Nile sources. He arrived in Cairo accompanied by his wife early in 1861, and on 15th April went up the Nile on his great quest, part of his object being to succour Speke and Grant, who had left Zanzibar the year before with the same object in view as

he had. Before proceeding to his main task he made a diversion into Abyssinia partly for the purpose of sport, but mainly with the object of supplementing the work of Bruce by completing what may be called the eastern hydrography of the Nile. To this work he devoted a whole year during which he examined every individual river that is tributary to the Nile from Abyssinia, including the Atbara, the Settit, the Royan, Salaam, Angrat, Rahad, Dinder, and the Blue Nile. At the same time he perfected himself in Arabic and studied the character of the people, both necessary acquirements, which he believed led to his ultimate success in reaching the Albert Nyanza. This important undertaking, during which he was able to ascertain the share of these Abyssinian tributaries in the economy of the Nile, would in itself have entitled Baker to a high place among the scientific explorers of Africa. For Baker was no mere superficial pioneer; his books abound with information of the richest character on the physical geography, natural history, and ethnography of the countries in which he sojourned.

In June 1862 Baker was at Khartoum, where the White and the Blue Niles meet. Here he fitted out three vessels, and, with an escort of ninety persons and twenty-nine camels, horses, and asses, he proceeded southwards to Gondokoro, where, in the middle of February 1863 he met with Speke and Grant, who fired him with the narrative of their discovery of the source of the Nile. At the same time they told him of rumours of the existence of another lake, to the west of Victoria Nyanza, into which the Nile was reported to flow. Baker decided to seek for this other Nile lake. The slave traders did their utmost to wreck the expedition, which they looked upon as the forerunner of the extinction of their nefarious traffic. This compelled Baker to make a detour to the east through the negro kingdoms of Ellyria, Latuka, Obbo, and the Madi country, into Unyoro, the tyrannical chief of which caused him a great deal of trouble. At last, however, on 14th March 1864, Baker and his wife reached the lofty shores of the Mwuta Nzige at Vacovia, a considerable distance down the east side of the lake. To this lake he gave the name of Albert Nyanza. He navigated its waters for ten days northwards to Magungo, where the Somerset Nile, which leaves the Victoria Nyanza, enters the smaller lake. Baker was unable actually to verify the exit of the White Nile from the newly-discovered lake, but of this

there could be no doubt, as on his return journey he struck the river again at Apuddo, about sixty miles to the north of the lake. Thus, amid many hardships, and at frequent risk of death at the hands of Arab slavers and hostile chiefs, Baker and his wife forged one of the most important links in the course of one of the world's most famous rivers. We have heard a good deal recently of lady travellers in Africa, but their work has been mere child's play compared with the trials which Lady Baker had to undergo in forcing her way into a region absolutely unknown and bristling with dangers of every kind. Even on the return journey, owing to illness and the disturbed condition of the country, it took the expedition nearly a year to reach Gondokoro, and it was not until 1866 that the Bakers returned to England. Their fame had preceded them, and in 1865 the Royal Geographical Society awarded Baker one of its gold medals "for his relief of Captains Speke and Grant, and his endeavour to complete the discovery of those travellers." In 1866 he was created M.A. of Cambridge University, and received the honour of knighthood; he was also decorated by the Khedive of Egypt, and was awarded a great gold medal by the Paris Geographical Society. Other honours poured in upon him, and, like other African explorers before and since, Baker was the lion of the day. He told the story of his work in two publications which will never be obsolete, *The Albert Nyanza, Great Basin of the Nile* (1866) and *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* (1867).

Sir Samuel and Lady Baker, however, were not satisfied with the results already accomplished, and feeling that, although their journeyings thus far had widened the sphere of human knowledge, they had not led, as yet, to much practical result, they resolved to go back to Africa, and to essay the attempt of making them subordinate to the great ends of commerce, civilisation, and philanthropy, especially by helping to expedite the extinction of that bane of African existence, the slave trade. With these objects in view they returned to Egypt in 1867, and towards the close of 1868 joined the suite of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were then making a tour in Egypt. In the early part of the following year Sir Samuel Baker was taken into council by the Khedive as to the best means of annihilating the slave trade and extending the blessings of agriculture and legitimate commerce. It was agreed on all

hands that the attempt should be made, and that an expedition should be conducted into the interior without delay under Sir Samuel Baker as its head. A formal firman was delivered to Baker by the Khedive, who, we are bound to believe, was for the moment perfectly sincere in his intentions. It was stated in this document that the object of the enterprise was "to suppress the slave trade, to introduce a system of regular commerce, to open to navigation the great lakes of the equator, and to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depôts distant at intervals of three days' march throughout Central Africa, accepting Gondokoro as the basis of operations."

Baker was given the rank of Pasha, and was entrusted with "the most absolute and supreme power, even that of death, and supreme authority over all those countries belonging to the Nile basin south of Gondokoro." For the purposes of the expedition Baker had three steamers built and two steel boats, besides a variety of other appliances, to enable him to accomplish the objects of his mission, which was to last for four years from 1st April 1869. He had with him a number of European officers and men with a force of 1645 troops, including a corps of 200 irregular cavalry and two batteries of artillery. After many difficulties and delays, the expedition got under way at the end of 1869, and reached Khartoum in June 1870. Here the Governor and all his underlings placed every obstacle in the way of progress, and Baker had many gross abuses to expose in the administration of the Egyptian Soudan. He succeeded in the end in making a start with thirty-three vessels of various kinds, but nature as well as natives seemed to conspire against success. Baker found the White Nile choked for many miles with the dense vegetation known as "sudd." Through this a channel had to be cloven to enable the expedition to make way, and in the process the people of the expedition died by the score from hardship and malaria.

It was only in April 1871 that the weakened expedition reached Gondokoro. Here Baker proceeded at once to raise a new town, to which he gave the name of Ismailïa. The Bari negroes around Gondokoro waged war against the expedition, but in the end were subdued. Baker's own troops manifested an inclination to mutiny, but his energy and determination brought them under complete control. With a greatly weakened force, in the end of 1871, Baker marched southwards, and at

Fatiko on the Nile (3 deg. N. lat.) he established a fortified camp, from which he waged war against the slave hunters who were devastating the land. He pushed southwards as far as Masindi, in Unyoro, almost constantly fighting, either with the slavers or with the natives, chief among whom was Kabba Rega, the tyrannical ruler of Unyoro. So terrible, indeed, was the struggle, that in 1871 rumours of the massacre of the whole expedition by treachery reached England. In April 1873 Baker returned to Gondokoro, having, for a time at least, checked the slave trade; but only for a time, for as soon as he left the country it became as flourishing as ever, and it can hardly be said that this formidable expedition had much immediate practical result. The crusade was continued under Baker's successors, chief of whom was Gordon, with what issues is known to all. Sir Samuel and Lady Baker returned to England, the story of the expedition being told in his work *Ismailïa* (1874). Various honours were conferred on him by the Khedive.

Sir Samuel and Lady Baker settled down at Sandford Orleigh at Newton Abbot, Devonshire, but the wandering and sporting instinct was as strong as ever, and seldom a year passed that the two did not take flight to some distant part of the globe. In 1879, shortly after the British occupation of Cyprus, they visited every portion of the island, travelling in a caravan, the results being published in a volume entitled *Cyprus as I saw it in* 1879. In subsequent years lengthened visits were made to Syria, India, Japan, and America. In 1883 Baker published *True Tales for my Grandsons*, and in 1890 *Wild Beasts and their Ways*—reminiscences of sport and observation in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. In 1869 he published a story of adventure under the title of *Cast up by the Sea.*

Baker took a keen interest in everything that concerned the public welfare and integrity of the Empire, and, as the columns of the *Times* will testify, that interest was frequently expressed in communications marked by sound sense and wide and accurate knowledge. It is only within the last two weeks that he addressed to us a letter with regard to the strengthening of the Navy. He was an admirable public speaker, clear, fluent, and apt in expression, though, in later years at least, he did not often appear on the platform. Though not much above the medium height, he was a man of commanding presence and frank bearing, and

he was excellent company and most loyal as a friend. He was a deputy-lieutenant of Gloucestershire and a J.P. of Devonshire. He was a stanch Conservative, and for many years President of the Mid Devon Conservative Club. He was a Fellow of the Royal, of the Royal Geographical, and other societies at home and abroad.

M. WADDINGTON

1826–1894

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, JANUARY 15, 1894

M. WADDINGTON was born at St. Rémy in 1826. Many of the peculiarities of his complex character and remarkable career may be traced to his dual nationality. Born in France of English parents who had adopted French nationality, he received his education partly in France and partly in England, and of the twenty-two years of his political life no less than ten were spent in London. In appearance and manner the English element in him gained decidedly the upper hand, but in his style of speaking the two nationalities pretty evenly balanced each other, so that a stranger might have found great difficulty in deciding to which nationality he really belonged. His early years were spent with his parents in France, and he then entered the Lycée St. Louis, in Paris. His father desired, however, that he should have the advantages of the English as well as of the French system of education, and accordingly sent him at the age of fifteen to Rugby. After four years of the vigorous training, physical, intellectual, and moral, which distinguished Rugby at that time, he went up with an exhibition from the school to Trinity College, Cambridge. There he graduated in the first-class of the classical tripos, obtaining the distinguished position of Second Classic, and gained, equally with another competitor, the Chancellor's medal. Both at school and at college his English blood came out in his love of athletics. On this subject we published, on 11th March 1876, a letter from a correspondent signing himself "Rugbiensis," of which the following passage deserves to be reproduced :—

"At Rugby M. Waddington was distinguished for his prowess at football, and his schoolfellows will well recollect him, with his purple cap and dark blue and white striped jersey (the football uniform of Mr. Grenfell's House, of which he was a member), rushing through a 'scrummage,' in which his great bodily strength served him well. His contemporaries at Cambridge will remember Waddington the sculler, member of the Second Trinity Boat Club, and No. 6 in the Cambridge boat in the University race in 1848 or 1849 (I forget which), when Cambridge won. M. Waddington must certainly be the first English public schoolboy or University oarsmen who ever attained to the position of a French Cabinet Minister."

When chatting familiarly in his later years with his English friends, M. Waddington loved to recall this portion of his life, and he could relate with something of the old schoolboy warmth the doughty deeds performed by himself and his athletic comrades. Only last year, it will be remembered, he made an interesting allusion to the subject in his eloquent speech at the Mansion-house, and he then suggested that Englishmen and Frenchmen might come to know and understand each other better if the youths of both nations indulged more frequently in international athletic contests.

Soon after taking his degree he returned to France, married an accomplished French lady, and settled down apparently to a quiet life of learned leisure and archæological research, epigraphy and numismatics being his favourite subjects of study. With a view of prosecuting these researches, he travelled through Asia Minor in 1850, and published on his return two *Mémoires*, which had the honour of being crowned by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. By a second journey in the same region in 1862 he increased his materials and made useful contributions to the solution of important historical and archæological questions. Three years later his labours received a formal honorary recognition by his being elected a member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

No sooner had M. Waddington thus made for himself a solid and universally recognised reputation in the world of archæology than he began to think of politics, and he presented himself to the electors of his department as a candidate for the Corps Législatif. He failed to obtain a majority, and contentedly

returned to his archæological studies. It was not till 1871, after the fall of the Empire, when he was forty-five years of age, that he gained a seat in the National Assembly and thereby inaugurated his political career. At once his remarkable talents, his extensive erudition, and his high moral character attracted attention.

M. Waddington had known Thiers under the Empire, when both belonged to the Opposition. On the fall of the Empire, being then forty-four, he entered into politics, which he was encouraged to do by Thiers. The latter had a high opinion of him on account of his culture, honesty, and common-sense, and pressed him from the first to aim at an official situation, but it was not till the last moment of Thiers's Presidency, when Dufaure, on 17th May 1873, formed a Cabinet, that M. Waddington entered it as Minister of Education. He was overthrown with Thiers seven days afterwards. Till then he had professed a kind of diluted Republicanism, a Left Centre policy, but, revolted by the ingratitude of Conservatives towards Thiers, he joined the militant and ardent opposition offered by the Moderate Republicans headed by Thiers and Dufaure to the successive Cabinets of the MacMahon Presidency. On the reaction being defeated at the elections of 1876 he resumed the post of Minister of Education, which he held till December of that year. Dufaure was then overthrown and succeeded by M. Jules Simon, under whom M. Waddington continued in office until 16th May 1877, when Marshal MacMahon made his famous Parliamentary *coup d'état* by demanding M. Jules Simon's resignation. The clerical papers reproach M. Waddington with the illiberal measures adopted by him during his fourteen months of office. They forget that he would have betrayed his trust had he done otherwise. His reforms constituted the *minimum* of the claims put forward by the Republicans. Those reforms, moreover, afterwards appeared inadequate, for the famous Article 7 was proposed several years later by Jules Ferry. M. Waddington, however, always had the misfortune of exciting animosity by moderate Liberal ideas, or by negotiations carried on in a moderate Liberal spirit—animosities which more violent men escaped. However this may be, he fell on 16th May 1877, his fall being in the eyes of Republicans a title to gratitude, which was soon to be signally acknowledged.

On 14th November 1877 Dufaure was commissioned by the

Marshal to form a Cabinet. The elections had gone against the *coup* of 16th May, the 363 Republicans being nearly all triumphantly elected. The new Chamber, containing an overwhelming Republican majority, refused to recognise the Rochebouet Cabinet, and M. Lepelletier, Minister of Justice, had to descend from the tribune without uttering a word. The next day Dufaure became Premier. M. Waddington, who was at first to resume the portfolio of Education, gave way at the last moment to M. Bardoux, taking the Foreign Office, which had first been offered to the Comte de St. Vallier, who was appointed Ambassador to Berlin. The overthrow of 16th May, involved the fall of the Duke Decazes, and M. Waddington, Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the consent of the Marshal and Dufaure, appointed himself the chief French plenipotentiary at the Berlin Congress.

For the first time since the terrible defeats of 1870, France was seated among the representatives of monarchical Europe—a vanquished nation which had overturned first Royalty and then the Empire. Europe was full of distrust towards her, and even French Conservatives did not conceal from foreign eyes their disquietude respecting their country's social future. The Republicans themselves were so sensible of the distrust inspired by them, they understood so well that the vigilant adversaries of France would seize on the slightest pretext to draw on her the increasing suspicion of the disquieted monarchies, that a party was formed, headed by Gambetta himself, who objected to France taking part in the Congress. They would have made the irreparable blunder of provoking all monarchical Europe to a veritable coalition designed to exclude France from that rank of a first-rate Power, of which her unprecedented disasters had not deprived her. Thanks to the persistency and energy of M. Waddington, backed by Dufaure, and both seconded by the patriotic feeling of Marshal MacMahon, this campaign in favour of abstention, the complex and even mysterious origin of which would require too long explanations, did not succeed. M. Waddington, the Comte de St. Vallier, and M. Desprès accordingly repaired to Berlin to represent France.

It would be impossible to render full justice to M. Waddington's attitude during the month when monarchical Europe, represented by its highest diplomatists, held its sittings in the capital of the German Empire. France appeared

there in that city of Berlin in which her conqueror reigned. Before the President of the Congress, the formidable Chancellor, the triumphant adversary who was then really the ruler of Germany, before Prince Bismarck, all the other monarchical representatives seemed bound to show docility.

In these circumstances it is easy to imagine the difficulty of M. Waddington's position. Without being proud or arrogant, his self-respect, the dignity of the nation represented by him, and the recollection of the defeats which he personified, did not allow him to be either cringing or humble. He was simple and natural, so self-possessed, so irreproachably polite and straightforward that Prince Bismarck speedily showed him such a deference that he held a distinct place and was respected by all. After a few days he won the esteem and confidence of everybody, and outside the sittings of the Congress most of the members made him a confidant and listened to his counsels. Without ostentation he claimed for France disinterested advantages which had a considerable moral effect. He claimed the maintenance of the French protectorate in religious matters in the East. He advocated and obtained the enfranchisement of the Jews in Roumania. He upheld the prerogatives of France in Palestine, and he ensured for Greece concessions which nearly all the other Powers were inclined to refuse. It was in order not to humiliate M. Waddington that Prince Bismarck agreed to insert those concessions in the treaty itself, though he had intended to relegate them to a protocol.

M. Waddington's position was rendered still more difficult by the opposition which he encountered from France. Gambetta, the *République Française*, and the *Journal des Débats* kept up an opposition to the Congress and to M. Waddington himself. The *Temps* and other papers, in order not to be thrown into the shade by attacks which were doubtless dictated solely by patriotism, followed the current, so that M. Waddington had to struggle against an almost general opposition.

He returned from Berlin, having maintained throughout the dignity of his attitude, and bringing to his country the possibility of undertaking that Tunis expedition which would have endowed France with the least costly and most profitable of her colonies had it not been the tangible cause of that misunderstanding with Italy which has continued unsettled to the present day.

Shortly after his return, Dufaure was overthrown and M. Waddington succeeded to the Premiership. In this post, it must be confessed, he showed a weakness which lasted as long as his Cabinet itself. He had a terror of Gambetta. He did not venture to refuse anything to that imperious will exerted behind the scenes. He obeyed that will in opening the diplomatic career to M. Barère. He had obeyed that will also when under the Premiership of Dufaure, and, notwithstanding the objections of the latter and of Marshal MacMahon, he appointed M. Challemel-Lacour to the Berne Embassy, protesting that if the appointment was not made he would himself resign. When M. Challemel-Lacour became later on Minister for Foreign Affairs, he remembered this, and he commissioned M. Waddington to represent France at the Tsar's coronation.

When Marshal MacMahon resigned in February 1879, and M. Dufaure retired, M. Waddington remained, at M. Grévy's request, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and accepted the Presidency of the Cabinet, but he found great difficulty in defending a policy which was too Republican for the Senate and too moderate for the Chamber, and, though he defended his position so adroitly that on 2nd December he obtained a vote of confidence, he found himself constrained, a few weeks afterwards, to hand in his resignation. At that time he was offered the Embassy in London, but he declined, and it was not till July 1883, after he had acted as Ambassador Extraordinary at the coronation of the Tsar, that he accepted the post.

His activity as Ambassador in London is so fresh in the public mind that we need not recall the details of it. He has often been accused by his political opponents of being too conciliatory to England, but such was not the opinion of our Foreign Office officials, who were firmly convinced that the fact of his being more than half an Englishman prevented him from being as conciliatory as he would have been if he had been a pure Frenchman. If he honestly exerted himself, as he undoubtedly did, in maintaining friendly relations between the two countries it was because he believed that friendly relations with England were, in the highest sense of the term, advantageous to France; and if he was not so enthusiastic as some of his more excitable countrymen about the Franco-Russian *entente* it was because his knowledge of past history, his calm judgment, and

his diplomatic experience enabled him to perceive the dangers as well as the advantages of the present European situation. The best wish that we can offer to France is that she may always possess statesmen and diplomatists of the type and calibre of M. Waddington.

LOUIS KOSSUTH

1802–1894

Obituary Notice, Wednesday, March 21, 1894

If few people among the generation that has seen Kossuth die know more of him than his great name, the fault is wholly that of the man, whose ambition was of the kind which Quintilian has called the parent of the virtues. The abdication of a tribune is even rarer than that of a king, but Kossuth found that in his case integrity and self-interest lay far apart—

> Sidera terrâ
> Ut distant et flamma mari, sic utile recto.

As Manzoni finely said of Garibaldi, "He disdained the purple but kept the ermine." Yet the Hungarian patriot was very different in talents and character from the Italian hero. With as large a heart as Garibaldi's, he had more brains; his enthusiasm was tempered with a lawyer's shrewdness; and, though he wanted firmness on some critical occasions, this seems to have been owing rather to the fact that he put too much confidence in certain unworthy individuals, than to ignorance of the methods by which men in general should be handled. He had most of the qualities which make up the practical statesman, and if he had cared for personal advancement he might have played a great part in Hungary to the end of his life. But severely conscientious, he would never renounce for his own mere profit principles which he had inculcated upon others and for which others had bled—although he was quite ready to admit that those principles might be relaxed by men who were less pledged to them than he was. That is why he spent his closing years in voluntary exile. He felt that his work was finished when

Hungary became free, and, replying to deputations who came entreating that he would return to Pesth and place himself at the head of a political party, he always answered, " Hungarians now want union, not parties."

Louis Kossuth was born on 16th September 1802, at Monok, in the county of Zemplin, a region of rich valleys and famous vineyards. His father, a small landowner of the noble class, was descended from an ancient Hungarian family, of whose members no fewer than seventeen were prosecuted for high treason by the Austrian Government between 1527 and 1715. " My genealogical tree is like a gallows," he once said, "there is an ancestor hanging from every branch." Louis's father was an advocate, whose landed property covered no more than a few acres of vines, and Louis himself was trained for the law. After learning the rudiments at a village school, he was sent to the Protestant College of Scharasehpatack and there took his degrees in law. At one time he contemplated becoming a Lutheran pastor, but it is said that he was diverted from clerical life by the jest of a professor, who said to him: " With a tongue like yours, you will always be taking up paradoxes ; you will plead the Devil's cause just by way of novelty." Kossuth took the reproach to heart, though it does not appear that he was more garrulous than the generality of his countrymen. Cardinal Michailovic has written of them, " Incontinence of speech is the great fault of our Hungarians. In an assembly of a hundred members the smallest question brings out five-score harangues. When Hungarians meet to confer about cutting a country road, they begin by settling the affairs of the entire world, then go and dine and adjourn the road matter to another season."

Upon getting his legal diploma, Kossuth was appointed steward to the Countess Szapary, and in that capacity had a seat in the Comitat Assembly, wherein nobles and officials met several times a year to discuss local affairs. It was the practice in those times—one that has not long been abolished—for the widows of magnates to be represented by their nominees, not only in the Comitat Assemblies, but at the Table of Deputies in the Hungarian Diet. These " ladies' men " had right of speech but no votes, and they usually confined themselves to shouting *Haljuk, haljuk* (" Hear, hear ") to the orations of their mistresses' noble kinsmen. But Kossuth would not treat his functions as a sinecure, nor would he even admit that he held a *mandat impératif*,

so that he soon fell out with the Countess, who was a very imperious dame. Like that Prince Esterhazy who, in answer to Lord Lansdowne's remark that he had 10,000 sheep, replied, "And I, 10,000 shepherds," the Countess Szapary owned retainers enough to form an army, and things looked very bad for young Kossuth when this lady, angered by his independence, accused him of falsifying her accounts. However, Kossuth cleared himself of the charge, and one of the Counts Hunyady, deeming that he had been unfairly treated, chose him to sit as his representative in the National Diet of Presburg. Kossuth was one of 300 similar delegates of absentee landlords. His position gave him a free residence in his principal's palace, and in many respects it was like that held formerly in England by the member of a rotten borough towards his patron. But one of its peculiarities was that a Deputy was required to furnish regular reports of the proceedings in Parliament to his principal; and Kossuth's reports were so very good, not only as summaries of business, but as descriptive sketches and comments, that Count Hunyady suggested that they should be published. A small lithographic press was purchased by subscription among the members of the Liberal Opposition, and hundreds of copies of the reports being thus struck off were circulated under the title of *Parliamentary Gazette* among annual subscribers. All writers agreed that the effect of these gazettes was immense.

Like Dr. Johnson in his reports for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Kossuth much improved the matter and style of the speeches which he edited; and the Austrian Government, which had always sought to prevent combined action on the part of the various Diets by forbidding the publication of their debates, took alarm at the Gazette and declared it illegal. The lithographic press had to be abandoned; but then a large staff of clerks was engaged to copy the reports in manuscripts, and these were sent out to subscribers at six florins a month, just as the "News Letters" were from London to the country in the seventeenth century. Again the Government endeavoured to stop these papers. They were being taken in by numerous clubs as well as by private persons, and Kossuth resolved to enlarge the scope of his enterprise by reporting the debates of some local Diet when the National Diet was not in session. He chose the Assembly of Pesth for this purpose, and the Government of Vienna issued an order for his arrest. The Chancellor of Hun-

gary, Count Raviczky, refused to countersign the warrants; he was dismissed from office and his place given to Count F. Palffy, a zealous agent of Prince Metternich's, "whereupon," as Kossuth said in after years in relating his experiences before a British audience, "the curious spectacle was witnessed of a whole company of Grenadiers marching about Pesth to try and catch one solitary man." Kossuth fled to his residence among the hills of Ofen; but there he was captured, taken back to Pesth and put upon his trial for high treason along with several accomplices—that is, men who had done nothing worse than assist him in publishing Parliamentary reports.

One of these fellow Liberals was a wealthy and popular magnate, Count Nicholas Wesselenyi, whose daughter Kossuth was soon to marry. Having large estates to serve as bail for him, Wesselenyi was not shut up pending his trial; but he eventually, in 1839, received the same sentence as Kossuth—that is, four years' imprisonment. The brilliant and high-minded Count Stephen Szechenyi, who had begun to spend the whole of his income in relieving the condition of the Hungarian peasantry, founding schools, circulating works on national history, and Liberal newspapers, was condemned to a like penalty, while some fifty young men of the Liberal party, mostly advocates and students, were punished with lesser sentences. Kossuth was at first confined in the common gaol of Pesth, but his conviction caused such a ferment among the people that the authorities feared that a movement might be made to release him, and he was accordingly transferred to the Castle of Ofen. The mass of the nation took up his cause, however, and the Government became involved in a serious conflict with the Diet. The elections of 1839 returned a majority of Deputies who had bound themselves to throw out every Government measure until Kossuth and his friends should be released. In vain did the Austrian party in the kingdom press upon Prince Metternich that he had better make a compromise; the autocratic Minister refused to yield, and the consequence was that the Deputies declined to vote the annual levy of troops and then proceeded to pass resolutions censuring the Septemvirate Tribunal which had condemned the patriots. A still more serious resolution was that which decreed by a majority of two that the Hungarian language should for the future be the only one used in the debates of the Diet. At this

Metternich, seeing matters take an ominous turn, advised the Emperor to grant an amnesty, and Kossuth was released with his friends. He came out of prison amid frantic demonstrations of popular triumph, and a subscription that was started to present him with a testimonial, produced a sum of 10,000fl. Soon after his liberation Kossuth was married to Mlle. Wesselenyi. This young lady, who was a person of great beauty and accomplishments, had conceived a romantic attachment for him on the strength of his reputation and before she had seen him. With her father's consent she sent the prisoner books, papers, and letters of encouragement during his incarceration, and in this way a correspondence sprang up. The fact that Kossuth was allowed to receive Mlle. Wesselenyi's missives and to answer them while in custody shows that his imprisonment was not a very rigorous one; and it is only fair to mention this, because in after years it was generally believed in England that he had learnt our language in prison by studying an English Bible—the only book allowed him. It seems that he did learn English out of the Bible, but he had plenty of other books as well. There is no comparison possible between his prison sufferings and those which Silvio Pellico and Baroncelli were enduring ten years later in the Spielberg. After his liberation, Kossuth, of course, saw Mlle. Wesselenyi, and an engagement was formed, but it was with the utmost difficulty that a dispensation could be obtained from Rome for a marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic. Popular as Kossuth was, no Catholic priest could be prevailed upon to solemnise the marriage, even after the dispensation had come, the clergy hoping, no doubt, that the Patriot might be induced to change his religion out of love for his bride if he found he could win her in no other way. But Kossuth did not change his religion, and his bride contented herself with a wedding in a Protestant Chapel.

Up to the time of his prosecution Kossuth had not been regarded as a popular leader in Hungary. His influence was not on a level with Szechenyi's, nor with that of the calm, learned Francis Deák, the soundest lawyer and the most cogent speaker in the Diet. But persecution does wonders for a man, and when Kossuth had undergone fifteen months' imprisonment for the Liberal cause, there was no name so dear as his to the people, because it was associated with a great and unexpected

victory of popular agitation. It was Kossuth who had begun the strife out of which the conflict between the Diet and the Imperial Government arose. It was over his body that the Hungarian Deputies had fought with Austria and had actually forced the Imperial Government to yield. Kossuth at once made the most of his opportunities. In 1841, entering into financial partnership with a bookseller of Pesth, he founded the *Pesti Hirlap* (Pesth Journal) for the advocacy of Liberal opinions. The tone of this paper was very cautious, there was nothing in it to give the Government any pretext for saying that it was the organ of Hungarian Separatists, and Metternich took a sensible course, when, instead of trying to suppress the paper, he started a Conservative rival, the *Vilag*, under the editorship of Count Aurelius Dusseffy, a man of mordant wit and one of the ablest writers in the kingdom. Dusseffy, who was a popular character, collected a dashing staff, and the two papers attacked each other with great violence for about a twelvemonth ; but, in 1842, the editor of the *Vilag* died—of his antagonist's pin-thrusts, as the wits of Pesth said—and then Kossuth remained master of the field. Upon this the Government set quietly to work to embroil him with his partner. Kossuth had been making money out of the *Hirlap*, so that after a couple of years' editorship, he had been able to buy an estate of 30,000 florins value, near Gràn. But the proprietor of the *Hirlap* was a portly man, with pushing wife and daughters, who wanted to get into Viennese society, and an invitation to a Court ball, with the promise of some more substantial Government favours, seems to have got the better of his Liberal principles.

A dispute was started with Kossuth on a question of salary. The ponderous man was sarcastic, and taunted his editor with drawing too much money. Kossuth, who was lean, choleric, and always terribly in earnest, raged away like a straw fire and ended by flinging his resignation into the bookseller's face, vowing that he would bring out a new paper and kill the *Hirlap*. But he forgot that before founding a newspaper he must get a licence from Government. The *Hirlap* happened to be the only independent journal in the kingdom, and it was tolerated because Metternich held that Liberalism ought to have at least one vent. When Kossuth applied for leave to start a new journal the Minister had the audacity to propose that Kossuth should accept a State subvention and

write on the Austrian side. It is not quite clear how such an offer came to be made ; but as men seldom receive insulting proposals without having done something a little indiscreet, it must be supposed that Metternich had drawn hasty inferences from some unsuccessful speculations in which Kossuth embarked at about this date.

It was a kindly failing in Kossuth that he was always disposed to think that others were as honest as himself. Though he could see clearly enough into a matter of business when he brought his mind to it, he would often let his common sense be overruled by the reflection that such and such an affair must be sound because so-and-so assured him that it was. He would sooner have lost a 1000fl. note any day than put a friend out of conceit with a pet scheme, and once he was heard saying, with that kind of smile which Dick Steele must have worn, "I can't refuse to show poor B. that I trust him ; nobody else does."

Before leaving the *Hirlap*, Kossuth had entered into a project for creating a number of agricultural credit banks for small peasant proprietors ; but he lost a good deal of money in this venture. Forsaking his editorship, he was deprived for a time of all occupation as a journalist, and plunged deeper into speculations which always had some philanthropical object. One of these was a mutual relief association, which established branch lodges all over the kingdom, and had tens of thousands of subscribers. It helped to strengthen his influence with the population, but cost him a great deal of money ; and in fact his pecuniary affairs fell into such bad condition at last that he must have become bankrupt had not his wife opportunely inherited some property. One effect of Kossuth's economical undertakings was to give a much broader range to his political views. Studying the wants of the poor, he alienated himself more and more in spirit from the aims of Szechenyi and Deák, who were both ardent reformers, but not revolutionists or Socialists. Deák thought it would be a calamity for Hungary if it threw off the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs ; Kossuth was already in 1846 contemplating revolution as a necessity. A somewhat hard religiousness brought him to contemn half-measures as products of moral cowardice and gave him an unbending demeanour also towards all politicians in whom he saw any reason to suspect insincerity. It was proposed to him that he should meet Metternich and have a friendly conference

over Hungarian affairs. "I could not pretend to be friendly," said Kossuth, "I should not believe a word he said, and it would be my duty to let him see this."

Without being in any way a visionary, Kossuth had come to the conclusion that it was his duty to strive after "the utmost that was possible." That was his favourite formula—but he stretched the limits of possibility very far. In 1847 he was elected to the Diet by the County of Pesth and he drew up a programme of reforms which at once caused a split in the Liberal party. The Magnates, who were most energetic in their championship of Magyar interests against Austria, were not prepared to accept Kossuth's agrarian schemes—that is to surrender half their estates for the creation of a peasant proprietorship—even though they were promised compensation on a scale to be assessed by elective Land Courts. However, in the Session of 1847, Kossuth took much higher rank as a practical politician than he had occupied before. He had formerly been a fluent and sharp debater; he now reappeared as a solemn and often impassioned exponent of the people's grievances. There was less of the Magyar and more of the universal citizen in him. Outside the Diet he called himself a Republican; inside the Assembly he was careful to use no disloyal expressions, but his tone was that of a tribune who knows that he has a host behind him ready to march at the first move of his finger.

The time for action came abruptly in 1848. On 24th February the Parisians rose to overthrow Louis Philippe, and, after three days' fighting, proclaimed the Republic. On 3rd March, Kossuth addressed a large open-air meeting at Presburg, where the Diet was sitting, and declared that "the example of the French must not be thrown away upon the down-trodden subjects of Austria." He incited the youth of Presburg to band themselves into a national guard, to elect officers, and to be ready to strike a blow for their liberties; at the same time he arranged with his friends that a Hungarian Ministry should be formed under the presidency of Count Louis Batthyany. Deák was to be Minister of Justice; Szechenyi, Home Minister; and he, Kossuth, Minister of Finance. The Table of Magnates demurred at this, but on 13th March an insurrection broke out in Vienna, causing the downfall of Metternich, and on the 15th Kossuth entered the city at the head of a Hungarian deputation which was received

with a frantic enthusiasm. Viennese students drew Kossuth's carriage through the streets; Viennese National Guards, just enrolled, formed themselves into a guard of honour to protect him wherever he went; and there was loud talk of storming the Emperor Ferdinand's palace should Kossuth's appointment as Minister be refused. It was not refused, but Kossuth found that he could not force the Emperor to do all that he wanted. He had to be content with the appointment of Archduke Stephen to the Viceroyalty of Hungary and with the confirmation of Batthyany's Ministry; but it had been his wish to obtain for his country a charter of complete independence, and on his return to Presburg he applied himself to arm the nation against any possible attempt to withdraw the concessions that had been made. How he dragged on the Diet to vote all the measures which he proposed was a marvel to see. He was not the leader of the Ministry, half its members and more than half the Deputies in the Diet were afraid of his policy, and yet his voice seemed to have the magic power of forming majorities. In a short session all the reforms which he had advocated before coming into office were passed into law. The remains of feudalism were swept away. The peasants were declared free from all seignorial claims; in other words, the tenants in one half the lands of Hungary were declared possessors of that land, rent free, the landlords receiving a promise of indemnities. The peasant and the burgher were admitted to all the rights of nobles, and a new electoral law was passed conferring the suffrage on every man who possessed property to the amount of 300 florins. By way of raising funds to carry out these vast schemes, Kossuth decreed an immense issue of paper money, Prince Esterhazy, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Batthyany Cabinet, guaranteeing the paper with his estates. Kossuth's bank-notes were little pink slips, having no ornament on them but only the amount for which they were issued and his signature. There was no difficulty at first about getting them circulated, for the whole nation was full of confidence, but later it became necessary to decree capital punishment against those who refused to take the pink paper, which had become discredited like the *assignats* of the French Revolution.

Indeed, the period of confidence lasted only a few months. Kossuth had reckoned without Joseph Jellachich, the Croatian leader. This extraordinary man—poet, minstrel, soldier, and

patriot after a fashion—perceived in Austria's difficulties the chance of his own fortune. As a Croat he hated the Hungarians, and he harboured a particular personal antipathy towards Kossuth, who had once called him to his face "a frivolous libertine." While Kossuth was shaking off the yoke of Austria, Jellachich represented to the Croats that they had nothing to gain by Hungary's triumphs; for, if the control of the Imperial Government over the Magyars were removed, all the small Slavonic States would lie at the mercy of the Hungarians. The Croats, bristling at this idea, petitioned the Emperor that Jellachich might be appointed "Ban," or Governor; and Jellachich, having received this high office along with the rank of Field-Marshal and the command of all the troops in Croatia, refused to go to Pesth and have his authority confirmed by the Hungarian Diet. Kossuth protested and called upon the Vienna Government either to dismiss the Ban or to compel his submission. Meanwhile Jellachich had discovered that his cry, "One Emperor and Austria undivided," was not enough to keep the Slavonic States in union, unless the prospect were held out of converting Austria into a wholly Slavonic Empire. By force of harangues, cajoleries, promises, and bribes, he sustained his influence over the Southern States; but, while the people idolised him, many among the higher classes looked upon him as little better than a brigand adventurer, and he sometimes had to assert himself by rough means.

Hearing that a meeting had been summoned at Agram to discuss an arrangement with Hungary, he walked boldly into it, disdaining the angry murmurs caused by the intrusion, whereupon a politician rose screaming that the assembly was not to be intimidated, even though Jellachich brought 10,000 bayonets with him. The Ban drew his sword and threw it on the floor, then knocked the speaker down with his fist, and roared that he had no need of weapons to keep order in the land. This little display of vigour evoked a burst of servile cheering, and one or two subsequent demonstrations of a similar kind, while they convinced the malcontents that their Ban was not a man to be trifled with, satisfied the Emperor that Jellachich was a safe instrument to use against Kossuth. But first a comedy had to be played, and at the instance of Batthyany Jellachich was dismissed, and even declared traitor. It has been said that he was profoundly affected and disgusted at

this proclamation of outlawry, which he read in a newspaper at Linz after leaving Vienna, where the double-dealing Ferdinand had shaken him warmly by the hand and wept hysteric tears, calling him "my good friend." But there is no doubt that Jellachich was a party to the move, made to throw dust in the eyes of the Hungarian Ministry. Received with acclamations at Agram, notwithstanding his nominal deposition, he continued to govern as if he were still Ban, and soon returned to Vienna, breathing defiance against the Magyars. A mediation was offered by Archduke John on this occasion, but it was only a pretence. Batthyany and Jellachich met in the Archduke's palace for a conference, and in five minutes came to high words. "We shall meet again on the Drave" (the river which separates Hungary from Croatia) cried Batthyany, shaking his fist. "Oh no," laughed Jellachich, "I will come and find you on the Danube."

The insurrection of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia followed close upon this interview, and then Kossuth did a thing which ever afterwards he lamented with unaffected contrition. To make terms with Austria he threw over the Italian cause. One is only judging Kossuth by the high moral standard which he himself desired should be applied to all his acts in forbearing to offer any excuse for this treacherous proceeding, for such it was. An ordinary politician—"one of those shift and shamble men," as Carlyle called them—might have been forgiven for disentangling himself from fellowship with the Italians at a time when his own country needed his undivided services, but Kossuth had claimed the sympathies of Liberal Europe for the cause of Hungary as being that of all oppressed nationalities. He had called Venetians and Lombards brothers, had urged Daniel Manin by private letters to take up arms, and had promised various Italian emissaries that he would make his countrymen disown all participation with Austria in her rule over Lombardy. Instead of keeping his word, Kossuth now prevailed upon his colleagues to launch a proclamation which, solemnly abjuring Italian interests, caused an indignant shock throughout the Peninsula, surprised Europe, and did the patriot no good among his own friends. The Italian insurgents were crushed by Radetsky, and when the Moderate party in the Hungarian Diet became alarmed at the isolation of their country, the Moderate members of the Cabinet—Batthyany,

Messaros, and Deák—resigned. This was just after the election of a new Diet, in which Kossuth's supporters had a majority. Hearing of Jellachich's advance towards the Drave, the Diet declared itself permanent, decreed the levy of four army corps, and appointed Kossuth Governor with dictatorial powers. At this juncture Kossuth fell ill from overwork and anxiety; but, though parched with fever and so weak that he could not stand, he had himself carried to the rostrum of the Diet, and two friends supported him in their arms while he made a stirring speech which ended with these words:—

"Have no illusions. The Magyars are surrounded by enemies; they are alone in the world against the league of sovereigns and races who encircle them. The Emperor of Russia is our foe; we find traces of his diplomacy and his gold everywhere, even in Servia. It is he who is arming the Croat revolt; and meanwhile the liberty-hating statesmen of Vienna are watching our troubles with sly looks, not daring to call us rebels yet, but waiting to do so, and to load us with chains if we let ourselves be beaten. Say, Hungarians, will you be slaves or will you fight?"

The Magyars swore to fight, and they did. The first battle between their troops and Jellachich's took place at Valencze, and the day was one of frightful carnage on both sides. After twelve hours' fighting the issue was still undecided, when the Hungarian General Moga at the head of his hussars made a series of heroic charges which broke the Croatian centre and forced Jellachich to retire. But this tough captain was not beaten. He concluded an eight days' truce, and fell back upon Raab, there to await reinforcements from Vienna—a course which brought matters between Kossuth and the Imperial Government to a crisis. Up to this date everything had been done by the Hungarians in the name of "Ferdinand, King of Hungary"; Jellachich's defeat, however, rendered it imperative that Ferdinand and his *camarilla* of counsellors should either openly support the Magyars or throw off the mask. They threw off the mask, and five regiments in Vienna received marching orders to go and rejoin Jellachich. But the Viennese rose in the night to prevent these troops from leaving the city. For the third time within the year the Kaiserstadt was up in arms; the venerable General Latour was murdered by the Viennese rabble; Ferdinand fled to Schönbrunn, and the in-

surrectionary leaders called upon Kossuth for volunteers to help them in holding the capital. While ten Magyar battalions marching with Republican war cries answered this appeal, Jellachich, marching still faster with reorganised troops, appeared unexpectedly before the city gates. On that day he saved the Hapsburg Dynasty. Operating with Windischgraetz, who had come to besiege the insurgent capital, he directed all the tactics of the two days' siege (28th to 30th October 1848), and, after capturing Vienna, went to meet the Hungarians at Schwechat. Once more the Republicans of Vienna tried a desperate rally, and on 2nd November there was fighting within and without the city; but while Windischgraetz massacred the insurgents Jellachich put the Hungarians to utter rout. They crossed the Leitha in disorder; and Kossuth, seeing that a war to the knife was now inevitable, withdrew with the Diet to Debreczin, where the seat of government was temporarily established.

Ferdinand abdicated on 2nd December 1848, and was succeeded by his son, the present Emperor Francis Joseph. Kossuth has often been blamed for not trying to negotiate with the new sovereign: but he really never had the chance of doing so. He declined to recognise Francis Joseph because he knew that no terms short of unconditional surrender would be accepted from him. The first act of the young Emperor was to send troops pouring into Hungary. Windischgraetz invaded the country with 50,000 men and 200 cannon: General Schlick occupied the Polish frontiers with 20,000 men; Nugent held the north of the Drave with 16,000. Against these and several smaller armies Kossuth could only bring 20,000 men into the field, but his genius rose equal to his difficulties, and he organised the defence of his country with an ability and a courage which have won for him an undying reputation. In 1849 Hungary surpassed itself, and the whole world thrilled to see this small nation fighting for its liberties and winning one victory after another against double and treble odds. In Generals Bem and Görgey Kossuth had two admirable lieutenants. The former, marching into Transylvania, defeated Jellachich, and sent the news of his victory in the Cæsar-like despatch, "Bem Ban Böm" (Bem beat Ban). The latter, at the head of the dashing battalions of Honveds (national defenders), and with squadrons of that terrible light cavalry the Czikos—who in

addition to ordinary weapons carried three-tailed whips with leaden balls at the end of each tail—scoured the Carpathians. Utterly demoralised by a series of defeats which culminated in the disaster of Tsaszeg, where they lost 9000 men, seven flags, and twenty guns, the Austrians were gradually beaten back to the frontier, and the Imperial Government had at length to accept the assistance of Russia. At the same time Görgey, intoxicated by his successes, would not do as he was ordered by Kossuth, and the Dictator showed a lamentable weakness in dealing with him. Upon the recapture of Pesth from Windischgraetz, Kossuth appointed Görgey Minister of War, hoping to control him in this way, but Görgey did not accept this arrangement. Resigning his portfolio to take active command, he besieged Komorn, contrary to the plan of Kossuth, which was that he should fall back upon the Theiss and fortify himself there, and by this disobedience marred all the operations of Bem and Dembinski. On 4th July 1849 Dembinski fairly thrashed an army of 15,000 men under Jellachich in the plains of Hagyes, but this victory came too late. A month previously the Russian Marshal Paskevitch had entered Hungary. The battle of Temesvar was fought ; then came the capitulation of Villagos. Kossuth abdicated his power into the hands of Görgey, who, on 11th August, surrendered to the Russians at Arad with 40,000 men, throwing all the blame on Kossuth as he did so, and stigmatising him as a "Jesuit." Early in September Marshal Paskevitch was able to write to the Tsar, saying, "Hungary is pacified and lies at the feet of your Majesty."

All lovers of freedom in every country, all admirers of valour, all men who had hearts to sympathise with the misfortunes of patriots mourned when the Hungarian cause was lost. Sinister reprisals followed upon the restoration of Austrian rule. The brave Louis Batthyany was shot ; Szechenyi and many more, among whom was Count Andrassy, were sentenced to be hanged, and only escaped this fate by flight. Windischgraetz, Haynau, and Püchner went about holding court-martials, shooting, hanging, and flogging ; and meanwhile the Austrian Government was demanding the extradition of Kossuth, Bem, and Dembinski, who had taken refuge in Turkey with 4000 of their followers. The strongest influence was brought to bear by the Russian Government on Sultan Abdul-Medjid in order that

Kossuth might be delivered up; but the counter influence of the British Government prevailed. Kossuth and six of his companions were at first relegated to honourable confinement at Widdin, and then at Kutahia in Asia Minor, and for a time there was considerable anxiety in England lest Lord Palmerston's intercession for the prisoners should not be successful. It was owing to this strong public feeling aroused on Kossuth's behalf that General Haynau met with so brutal a reception when he came to England in August 1850. Visiting Barclay and Perkins's Brewery, he was attacked by the labourers and draymen, who belaboured him with brooms and mud, shouting at him as an "Austrian butcher." The General had to be rescued by a strong body of police, and this incident leading to a stiff correspondence between the Austrian and British Governments made Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Premier, more anxious than ever to wreak vengeance on Kossuth. However, on 22nd August 1851 the ex-Dictator was released, and on 1st September sailed for England. He met with such a hearty reception at Genoa that President Louis Napoleon, who was just about to kill the French Republic, would not allow him to pass through France. Kossuth landed at Southampton on 23rd October, and two days later started for London. His progress was like a conqueror's triumph. On the 30th the Corporation of London presented him with an address, and he was cheered by immense crowds on his route from Eaton Square to Guild Hall. In his reply he said: "What I wish is that the public opinion of England may establish it as a ruling principle of the politics of Europe to acknowledge the right of every nation to dispose of its own internal concerns, and not to give a charter to the Tsar to dispose of the fate of nations." Next day he was presented with an address from "Republicans, Revolutionists, and Socialists, men, consequently, not attracted towards you by either the *éclat* of your title or the renown of your name." On the 3rd of the following month a great metropolitan demonstration was made in his favour at Copenhagen Fields. It was estimated that about 25,000 people were present on the occasion. Great assemblies also welcomed him at Birmingham and Manchester, while addresses from almost every town of note in the kingdom were forwarded up to 20th November, when the popular exile sailed for the United States.

At this point the political life of Louis Kossuth properly ends. He returned to England after his visit to America, and lived for some years in this country, writing occasional pamphlets and corresponding with foreign newspapers. His frequent intercourse with Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin caused him to be suspected of being one among a revolutionary triumvirate who were planning the overthrow of all Monarchical Governments on the Continent, and on one occasion his lodgings in London were searched for arms. But though he declared that he was ready at the first favourable opportunity to stir up a new rebellion in Hungary, he was careful to add that "his stores of arms were not in England." While living as a refugee among us Kossuth forfeited much of the admiration and sympathy which he had won by his patriotic exploits. His name, always coupled with those of Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, was too often to be found at the foot of demagogic manifestoes crying to foreign peoples to rise up ; and Liberals came rather to resent the swaggering tone and turgid utterances of the triumvirate. It was not Kossuth's hand, however, that penned most of these manifestoes ; and it may be noted that after his two turbulent allies were gone the Hungarian patriot was always heard preaching peace—not war, nor even civil war. For the last thirty years of his life he lived in Italy, enjoying easy circumstances. In 1867, after the Austro-Prussian war, when by Count Beust's advice the Emperor Francis Joseph consented to the establishment of the dual system and went to Pesth to be crowned King of Hungary, Kossuth gravely cautioned his countrymen to beware of Austrian concessions. He had so often found them delusive that there was no faith left in him ; yet he lived to see his confidence restored and to own that the concessions had been genuine. Elected to the Hungarian Diet in 1868, he refused to take his seat, saying that he would not play a part in a farce ; but ten years later, when a deputation of Magyars sought him at Turin and offered to get him re-elected, he replied that he had no wish to be a firebrand. Still a Republican in theory, he had come to perceive that a Magyar Republic was hardly practicable for the present, nor desirable, and, patriot to the end, he was content with the sight of his country's happiness—not grudging her felicity because it had not been achieved by him or by means which he had once thought the best.

LORD BOWEN

1836–1894

Obituary Notice, April 10, 1894

There will be deep and universal regret at the news of the death of Lord Bowen. For many years—it would scarcely be too much to say since Follett's premature death—no one in the legal world has passed away with the memory of so much achieved and the promise of so much to be still accomplished. And that is only a part of the loss. He had the supreme gift and charm of amiability. In society no one was more courted, no one more radiantly attractive. His infinite grace and sympathetic courtesy will perhaps be longer remembered than his scholarship and wit.

Charles Synge Christopher Bowen, born in 1836, the eldest son of the Rev. Christopher Bowen, was one of the most brilliant sons of Oxford in this generation, or, indeed, in any former. The reputation of Balliol can never be greater than it has been for the last quarter of a century, and if a representative of its culture and scholarship during that period were to be named, nine out of ten of its members would have named its late Visitor. A correct instinct guided the College, in the exercise of the unique privilege which the Master and Fellows of Balliol possess, to nominate him to that office. He came from Rugby with a considerable reputation both as a scholar and an athlete. He more than justified it at Oxford. Almost every scholarship and prize of importance, including the Hertford and Ireland, fell to him. Few, if any, men of his time were more accurate scholars, and he had gifts which do not always go with such attainments. His essay on Delphi is still remembered for the brilliancy and

distinction of its style. He took, in 1858, a first class in classical honours, becoming afterwards a Fellow of his College; and he found successes in the schools compatible with prowess as an athlete. He quitted Oxford about that time to enter at Lincoln's Inn, with a reputation rarely equalled for all-round ability and accomplishments. He joined the Western Circuit, where he received in his profession the aid of his friend Lord Coleridge, who even then predicted that his young friend would go far. Still, like barristers less gifted, he had his days of waiting in the market-place. Charles Bowen was early in the sixties a little too fond of exercising that subtlety of intellect which was one of his most marked characteristics, to defend with remarkable success before a Devonshire jury a prisoner charged with burglariously stealing a pair of boots or setting fire to a haystack, and excel in the contests in which young barristers win their spurs. There are, however, traditions of one or two of his eloquent speeches. One of his perorations was so acceptable and effective that it was repeated by its admirers all over the Circuit. In his leisure he wrote much for the *Spectator* and *Saturday Review*, ceasing, it is said, to contribute to the latter in consequence of a strong and, as he thought, unjustifiable attack on his friend Dean Stanley. There was then more than a bare possibility of his drifting into literature, writing volumes marked by acumen and elegance of style, and dying Master of Balliol in succession to his friend Dr. Jowett. But when success at the Bar came it flowed in no stinted measure. At the instance of Lord Coleridge, then Attorney-General, he was appointed in 1870 Junior Counsel to the Treasury. He became also Counsel to the Railway Association, and soon obtained a large, remarkably varied, and lucrative practice. 1870 to 1879 were laborious years in which in all probability were sown the seeds of the disease which in the end proved fatal. Often he remained till a late hour at his chambers, spending the night in an adjoining hotel and returning to the Temple at an early hour to begin another day equally toilsome. He was never a great advocate. He spoke with chilling, almost mincing precision. He loved subtleties and distinctions, and the finer they ran the more they were to his taste. The late Mr. Ballantyne has been known to speak disparagingly of his powers as a cross-examiner, and the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn has been heard to murmur audibly

against mellifluous refinements, the logical justice of which he could not deny.

In 1879 he was appointed a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division. During the three years in which he held that position he did his work well; but his talents were not suited for the rough work of Nisi Prius. In the history of English law, Lord Bowen will be chiefly remembered as a member of the Court of Appeal, to which he was raised in 1882. He sat beside several Judges of unusual ability; for example—to name only those not now on the Bench—Lord Justice Cotton and Lord Justice Fry; and he was called upon to deal with matters to which his attention, when at the Bar, had rarely been given. He quickly proved himself no less apt in equity and company cases than in common law; and soon, in the estimation of the profession, he had obtained a position of authority which few Judges, if any, of his age have possessed. It is a question whether more than one or two other Judges of recent times have delivered so many judgments marked by the highest judicial qualities. Not the least of their merits is that they are excellent pieces of literature, marked by a *curiosa felicitas* in expression of which few jurists have had the secret. He did not fall into the vice of merely thinking aloud; the details of evidence were narrated sufficiently to explain his opinion, but not laboriously detailed to enable him to arrive at a conclusion. A certain note of distinction, a sense of proportion, a happy turn for illuminating things dark and technical, marked them all. And to the lawyer they were instructive. Half-a-dozen of his judgments, in some of which he dissented from the rest of the Court, are models in respect of learning and accuracy of reasoning. Principles are firmly and clearly elucidated; authorities are examined carefully, and, while receiving no servile worship, they are not treated with imperious disdain. Every lawyer knows his decision in "Thomas *v.* Quartermaine," which dispelled a cloud of confusion in text-books and reports, which brought back the principle, "Volenti non fit injuria" to its true meaning, and which has proved a new departure in the development of the common-law doctrine as to employers' liability. As other specimens might be cited his judgments in "Boston Deep Sea Company *v.* Ansell" and "Hannay *v.* Smurthwaite and others." But, indeed, one could easily name a score of judgments no less sound in substance and marked by a perspicuous elegance as rare as it is

refreshing in English legal literature. He did not despise a touch of humour in dealing with matters arid and naturally repulsive ; for example, when in dissenting from the opinion of his brother Judges as to joinder of parties, he protested against the idea that a writ of summons or action is "like an omnibus into which any one can get as it goes along." Indeed his bright wit, for the most part playful in its movements, but at times incisive and keen, was one of his chief gifts. The Bar delighted in his sayings, such as "Truth will out, even in an affidavit." His description of an eminent lawyer who sought to combine rural pursuits with legal studies as " milking a cow with one hand and annotating 'Lindley on Partnership' with the other," is but one of the multitude of humorous flashes which he was always striking off. Congratulated on his being made a law lord, he remarked that he should find the work easy, his duty being to give his opinion after so many others had expressed theirs. "In fact, I shall have only to agree, and might well have been raised to the peerage as Lord Concurry."

Many of Lord Bowen's friends believed that his true vocation was letters rather than law, and regretted that he did not gratify the wish he more than once harboured to retire to Oxford and there, perhaps as head of his own college, devote himself to a work which would preserve the memory of his rare literary gifts. His professional activity permitted few excursions into literature. He wrote a clever pamphlet on the Alabama question, in which Sir William Harcourt's doctrines as to international law were sharply criticised. More ambitious is his translation of a large part of Virgil in English hexameters. Undeterred by the fact that a "translator of Virgil into English verse finds the road along which he has undertaken to travel strewn with the bleaching bones of unfortunate pilgrims who have perished," he tried to do what, in his opinion, neither Dryden nor Conington had accomplished. In the former "the silver trumpet has disappeared, and a mighty strain is breathed through bronze." In the latter he missed the "sweet and solemn majesty" of the original. It is but simple justice to say of Lord Bowen's version that it has qualities, and those far from unimportant, not possessed by either of his illustrious predecessors. It was his intention to complete a translation of the "Georgics." But, to quote his favourite poet, "sudden night surprised the yet unfinished song."

Lord Bowen was no political partisan. He had warm friends of all shades of opinion. Few took more delight in his conversation than Mr. Gladstone. But Homer, Horace, and Virgil were the bonds of sympathy. Lord Bowen was, notwithstanding his intimacy with Mr. Gladstone, a Liberal Unionist.

LORD COLERIDGE

1820–1894

OBITUARY NOTICE, FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1894

JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE was born December 3, 1820, at Heath's Court, Ottery St. Mary, the residence of his father, the late Sir John Taylor Coleridge, the nephew of the poet, the lifelong friend of Dr. Arnold, and a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. The late Chief Justice was educated at Eton. He took a scholarship at Balliol, and was not the least brilliant and promising of a group of men marked out even then for distinction. His friend the late Principal Shairp, in some verses entitled "Balliol Scholars, 1840-1843," has admirably sketched them, and in these lines we recognise the portrait of young Coleridge :—

> Fair-haired and tall, slim but of stately mien,
> Another in the bright bloom of nineteen
> Fresh from the fields of Eton came.
> Whate'er of beautiful or poet sung
> Or statesman uttered round his memory clung.
> Before him shone resplendent heights of fame,
> With friends around to bind ; no wit so fine
> To wing the jest, the sparkling tale to tell ;
> Yet ofttimes listening in St. Mary's shrine,
> Profounder mood upon his spirit fell.
> We heard him then, England has heard him since
> Uphold the fallen, make the guilty wince,
> And the hushed Senate has confessed his spell.

From this testimony and many other indications we know that his abilities were early recognised, even if the fulness of his future success was not anticipated. He threw himself with

ardour into the intellectual and spiritual life of Oxford, never more active than in 1840. He made his mark even more in the Union, of which he was President, than in the schools, though his classical knowledge was of a high order. He was a prominent member of the Decade, a society to which belonged Clough, Matthew Arnold, Dean Church, Theodore Walrond, and Lord Lingen, and the proceedings of which Coleridge thus graphically described: "We met in one another's rooms. We discussed all things human and Divine—we thought we stripped things to the very bone—we believed we dragged recondite truths into the light of common day, and subjected them to the scrutiny of what we were pleased to call our minds. We fought to the very stumps of our intellects, and I believe that many of us—I can speak for one—would generally admit that many a fruitful seed of knowledge was sown on those pleasant, if somewhat pugnacious, evenings." He took his degree in 1842, and was elected a Fellow of Exeter in 1843, his friend Shairp referring to the fact in these words: "Did I ever mention Coleridge, one of our scholars? They have elected him Fellow of Exeter. Certainly they have contrived to pick up some of the pleasantest men going for their common room."

Mr. Coleridge was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1847, and joined the Western Circuit, where his marked ability as an eloquent advocate, aided by family influence in Devonshire and the respect in which his father was held, soon brought him to the front, and where his future success was confidently predicted. Follett, a friend of his father, deigned to take the brilliant young barrister in hand, and to give him some shrewd advice. "Never overstate your case in opening. Leave something to the jury to discover—they like it. Second piece of advice.—If there is a weak point in your case, state it yourself; do not leave it to your opponent to do so. It is probable that you will state it less to your disadvantage than he will." The Western Circuit had then many powerful advocates, but soon in all cases requiring skill as an advocate, Coleridge and his friend Karslake, or "Handsome Jack," as he was then known, were engaged, and in due time the former became a leader of the Circuit. In 1855 he was Recorder of Portsmouth, and in 1861 Q.C. and Bencher of his Inn.

So far and for some time to come his success extended little outside his Circuit. There the fame of his "silver-tongued"

eloquence was great, and not a few stories were told of its effect upon juries in cases in which the issues were large and broad. But for many years his practice was not extensive, and he who had inherited the literary tastes and aptitude of his family had plenty of time to contribute reviews and other articles to the columns of the *Guardian*, the *Quarterly*, which his father had for a short time edited, and the *Edinburgh*. He had a fluent, facile pen, and there was a time when he probably made as much as a reviewer as he did from his practice at the Bar. With a certain side of English literature—with all the poets who lead up to or draw their influence from Wordsworth—he had remarkable familiarity, and even when overwhelmed with professional work he found leisure to keep up his knowledge of the classics. To the end of his days a happy reference to a line from Horace, Herbert, Wither, or "The Excursion" was one of the surest ways to his good opinion, and his oldest and nearest friends were those with whom he could talk freely of his favourite books. Never was he more charming, simple, natural, and yet brilliant than in the company of the men of letters whom he knew and admired—Matthew Arnold, Newman, or Principal Shairp, for example.

About this time falls his controversy with the late Mr. Buckle, the author of *The History of Civilisation*. In an article on Mr. Mill's *Liberty*, published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1859, Mr. Buckle referred, in proof of the imperfect acceptance of Mr. Mill's principles, to the trial of Thomas Pooley for blasphemy, and the sentence by the presiding Judge, Mr. Justice Coleridge, of one year and nine months' imprisonment. Serious charges, and still more serious insinuations, were made against not only Mr. Coleridge, who conducted the prosecution, but against the "stony-hearted man who now held him (Pooley) in his grip." There were sneers at "the cold heart—shallow understanding of the Judge," "this unjust and unrighteous Judge"; and the "gross and prodigious iniquity" of the sentence was denounced fiercely. Both the Judge and the prosecuting counsel were in substance charged with being parties to a fraud. Mr. Coleridge replied with vigour, vivacity, and spirit. He triumphantly refuted the graver charges, and showed that, though officiating as "a priest at the altar of liberty," the historian had been careless about his facts and reckless in his rhetoric.

At a very early period of his life, Mr. Coleridge was offered

an appointment which, besides a modest income, offered him an opportunity of devoting himself to a political career. He wisely decided to stick to the Bar, and not until 1865 did he enter the House of Commons, and the seat for Exeter, which he then got, he retained until 1873. The friend and admirer of Mr. Gladstone, he received from him many opportunities for distinction, and he was quick to use them. In the House of Commons he first made his mark by his strenuous advocacy of the abolition of University tests. For several years he brought forward this measure, and at last his efforts were crowned with success. The fame of his eloquence had preceded him; and the speech which he made in March 1866, in moving the second reading of the Test Abolition Bill, as his friend Sir Stafford Northcote owned, more than fulfilled the high expectations of his Parliamentary career. Scarcely less successful were his early speeches in support of Mr. Gladstone's motion respecting the Irish Church and of the Bill for its disestablishment. It will be remembered that in 1867, during the progress of Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, he was chosen by Mr. Gladstone to move the famous instruction as to rating, which led to dissensions among the Liberals. Unfortunately he did not prove so effective and useful to his party in the unforeseen episodes of debate as in carefully considered speeches. Sir Alexander Cockburn's criticism on his successor's oratory was "Coleridge's speeches want iron and grit." They had other merits. They satisfied an exacting literary taste; they conformed to classical models; they came as near as forensic speeches can to the Ciceronic precept to combine language skilfully and gracefully arranged with strong reasoning and impressive sentiment, "as it is the study of the fencer to unite grace and flexibility of movement with the art of attack and defence."

Meantime his practice at the Bar had been growing. His lucid, polished eloquence was then as rare at the Bar as it is now, and his services began to be in demand, especially in actions for libels and in applications for criminal informations, much more common then than now, and, in fact, wherever a telling speech was needed. One of the first cases in which he distinguished himself in London was in "Hunter *v.* Sharp," an action for libel against the publisher of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He distinguished himself still more in the action brought by Risk Allah against the *Daily Telegraph*.

In 1868 Mr. Coleridge was appointed Solicitor-General. It was a matter for wonder at the time—a feeling which Mr. Coleridge probably shared—that Sir Robert Collier, a member of the same Circuit, but scarcely his equal in standing at the Bar, should have been nominated Attorney-General. Shrewd, clear-headed, intelligent, Sir Robert Collier proved a much better law officer than even his friends anticipated. From this time Sir John Coleridge's practice, private and official, became very extensive. One of the most important cases which he conducted—indeed one of the most remarkable of modern times—was the action of "Saurin *v.* Starr," tried on 3rd February 1869 before Chief Justice Cockburn and a special jury. This action, brought by Miss Saurin, a former inmate of a convent of the Sisters of Mercy at Hull, against the Lady Superior, revealed a singular picture of high aims and sordid circumstances. Sir John Coleridge (with him were Mr. Digby Seymour and the present Mr. Justice Wills, and among the counsel on the other side was the present Lord Russell) appeared for the plaintiff, and his effective speech in reply has not often been surpassed in a court of justice. His impressive picture of the mean and petty afflictions, the wretched humiliations and annoyances of which his client was the victim, carried the jury with him, and Miss Saurin obtained a verdict on all main points.

Great though the excitement called forth by this case was, it was surpassed in interest by others in which Sir John Coleridge was engaged. In 1871 he was appointed Attorney-General, and there fell to him even more than the average amount of important business which comes to a law officer. Many ecclesiastical cases—for example, the Voysey case—were then before the Courts. He was engaged in almost all of them. In 1872 the Claimant brought his famous action for ejectment against the trustees of the Tichborne estates, and Sir John Coleridge, Mr. Hawkins, Sir George Honyman, Mr. Chapman Barber, and Mr. Bowen were retained for the trustees. We need not here repeat the details of the historic litigation, in many ways the most remarkable litigation in English history. It will be recollected that the Attorney-General conducted his famous cross-examination of the Claimant for twenty-one days, and made in his reply the longest speech ever delivered in a court of justice. Many were the criticisms upon his conduct of the case ; the most

common was that he had unduly magnified the strength of his adversary. But the success of the advocate was complete. At the outset the Claimant had many believers even among sensible men; the cross-examination left very few indeed. The Attorney-General, too, was not responsible for the somewhat harsh measures taken at the close by the presiding Judge, or for the inordinate length to which the prosecution, in which he took no part, was spun out.

On the death of Sir William Bovill, in November 1873, Sir John Coleridge was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and in the same year he was created a peer. Not the least satisfactory period of his judicial life was that spent in the Common Pleas. The three "Chiefs" had some advantages denied in these days to a Lord Chief Justice of England. With ordinary tact they could manage their puisnes. They were responsible only for the work of their own Courts, and they were generally able to regulate it. In this position Lord Coleridge compared advantageously with his predecessor Sir William Bovill, and the reports for those years contain several of his judgments remarkable for ability and learning. Lawyers will recollect the judgment in the case of "Arbuthnot *v.* The Duke of Norfolk" relative to the Fitzalan chapel, and the decision in "Twycross *v.* Grant," confirmed by a majority of the Court of Appeal.

In 1880, on the death of Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Coleridge became Lord Chief Justice of England. In the early part of his judicial career he took pains with his judgments, some of which bear re-reading as few judgments do. We might refer to his elaborate judgment in "Bradlaugh *v.* Newdegate," declaring that the defendant was liable for maintenance, "Reg. *v.* Dudley and Stephen," an admirably expressed and cogently reasoned judgment dealing with the charge of murder against seamen who, under stress of hunger, had killed and eaten a boy, and the charge in "Reg. *v.* Romsey and Foote." In this charge the Judge directed the jury as to the law of blasphemy differently from the terms of the law as stated by Mr. Justice Stephen and other high authorities; and subsequent discussion has tended to show that Lord Coleridge's ruling was not merely in accordance with the tolerant spirit of the age, but with the current of authorities. In later years he was less inclined to take trouble with cases. He could preside with dignity and

skill in a trial where important issues were involved; he showed to less advantage in an argument *in banc* requiring a careful study of authorities.

In August 1883 Lord Coleridge visited America, along with his friends Lord Hannen, Lord Bowen, and Lord Russell, in consequence of an invitation from the Bar Association of the State of New York. There, at Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, and many other other places, he was received with kindness, and even enthusiasm. He was fêted in public and private. He delighted the Americans by his unstinted admiration of their country, and they did not appreciate his eloquence the less because it was unlike in style to the models to which they were accustomed. Lord Coleridge brought back many pleasant recollections of his visit. He had an amusing account to tell of a dinner given him in Chicago by a once famous lawyer of that city; a dinner at the outset of which there was an awkward pause by reason of the viands having been seized by a sheriff's officer put in by a creditor of the host—a pause rendered more unpleasant by uncertainty on the part of the Lord Chief Justice as to whether under the law of Illinois the guests as well as the viands might not be taken in execution.

One event during the time that he was Lord Chief Justice cannot be altogether passed over. An action for libel against his son, the Hon. Bernard Coleridge, by Mr. Adams, his son-in-law, was followed by a second action for libel in which Lord Coleridge was defendant; and there was the unique sight of the Chief Justice a defendant and witness in his own Court before one of his own puisnes. The publication of the supposed libel was due to a mistake, and the jury gave a verdict for him. The fairest comment on the whole litigation was that, if dirty linen was washed in public, there was not much of it, and it was not very dirty.

No recollections of the Lord Chief Justice would be complete without mentioning his brilliancy and the extent and variety of his resources as a conversationalist. He had known most of the celebrated men of his time. With many he was linked by ties of close friendship, and his retentive memory poured out a flood of stories, legal, ecclesiastical, and academic, about men, books, and affairs for full half a century. An American visitor to Ottery with a turn for statistics computed that in the course of three rainy days the Chief Justice told 200 stories, most of them

good, and all intended to cheer an Ambassador, also a guest, who had caught a chill. And the Chief Justice's *ana* were not the ordinary stock-in-trade of the *raconteur*, who has overheard good things ; the winged *mot* which he repeated was the answer to something which he had said. He was an excellent after-dinner speaker. But the flow of reminiscences was most free, full, and easy in a *tête-à-tête*. There he poured out in never-ending stream his reminiscences of Wordsworth, Newman, the Arnolds, and his other heroes.

Lord Coleridge did not want critics ; and his somewhat unguarded, ever facile speech explained the existence of many of the unfavourable comments. But, if he had enemies and detractors, he had many fast friends. To the world he often seemed to be a great actor, but it is only fair to say that few public men of his time counted so many friends who had been his from boyhood to old age. "From my experience of nearly half a century," writes one who knew him well, "I can speak of him as the most steadfast and most generous of friends."

It is impossible to speak of the late Chief Justice's judicial career in unqualified terms of praise. His difficulties were great. He lived in times of transition, when criticism was rife, and when the defects of the procedure in the Queen's Bench were becoming apparent ; and it was not so easy to rule fourteen puisnes as four. Still he certainly did not make what might have been made of his high position and his great opportunities. His principal failing, perhaps, was a tendency, more marked in later years, to let things slide, to take no great trouble, and to find more pleasure in his favourite authors than in the reports and the business of his Court. "It is a pleasant seat," he once half-humorously said of the Chief Justiceship, and he made it so. But his ability was always undeniable, and he was generally at his best when most was expected. "No man can *drift* into the office of Chief Justice without some ability," he once remarked in a speech at Balliol ; and his keenest critics could not deny his aptitude for every species of forensic or judicial work to which he bent his mind.

Lord Coleridge wrote no book, but he edited, and appended a preface to, a translation of Ludovic Blosius's *Mirrour for Monks* —a "good and beautiful book," which was a favourite with his friends, Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Newman. He also contributed many literary articles to the magazines ; and his letters, full and

frank, even to rashness, in their expressions about men and things, would, if published, be singularly interesting. He belonged to the pre-scientific age, and he had little liking for many of the modern developments of literature. But few of his contemporaries had their memories better stored with the enduring treasures of our tongue.

He was a Liberal—in many respects a Radical. The life-long friend of Mr. Gladstone, who gave him successive promotions in rapid succession he was a devoted follower of that statesman in office and out of it. He actively supported in the House of Commons the disestablishment of the Irish Church. In 1876 he took a prominent part in what used to be known as the Bulgarian Atrocities campaign, and in 1878 he was, with the Dukes of Westminster and Rutland, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Charles Darwin, and Mr. Froude, one of the signatories of a request to Lord Salisbury to receive a deputation to protest against war with Russia. In the Home Rule agitation he did not conceal his attachment to Mr. Gladstone. He was no admirer of the House of Lords, and he avowed his expectation of large changes in its constitution. In law reforms he was disposed to advance cautiously. He was not of the mind of Parke, who waived all suggestions with the remark—"Good Heavens, think of the state of the record." But he did not look with favourable eyes on innovations in this province.

The death of Lord Coleridge removes a landmark in public life—it takes away a distinguished member of a distinguished family and one of the best known of public men. For nearly half a century his has been a familiar name at the Bar. He played no small part in the House of Commons; for a period rarely equalled he has held high judicial office; and he will be long remembered in legal history as an eloquent and accomplished advocate, and a Judge who, with all his faults, kept the administration of justice in touch with the culture of his time.

SIR HENRY LAYARD

1817–1894

Obituary Notice, Friday, July 6, 1894

Austen Henry Layard was of a very mixed nationality. The circumstances of his birth were probably unique. He was an Englishman on his father's side, a Spaniard on his mother's, a Parisian by birth, and an Italian by education. When he first came before a British constituency this combination of nationalities threatened seriously to prejudice him, until he turned the electors in his favour by wittily asking them whether if a man were born in a stable they would call him a horse. Sir Henry's grandfather was Dr. Layard, Dean of Bristol, and his father was Mr. Henry P. J. Layard, who was in the Ceylon Civil Service and who married a Spanish lady. The great archæologist was born in Paris on 5th March 1817. His youth was spent mainly in Italy, where he also received his education. In 1833 he came to London with the intention of studying for the Bar, but as this sedentary profession had slight attractions for him, and as he had inherited a passion for travel, in 1839 he set out with a friend on a course of exploration through the East. Visiting first various points in Northern Europe, he next proceeded through Albania and Roumelia to Constantinople. He subsequently travelled through various parts of Asia, learned the Arabic and Persian languages, and spent nearly two years among the wild tribes of the Bakhtiyari.

There is little doubt that his enthusiasm was fired by the discoveries of Champollion and Wilkinson in Egypt, the researches of Burckhardt and Lane in Arabia, and those of other discoverers in adjacent countries. Resolving in his wanderings

to explore specially those spots believed to have been the sites of ancient cities, he found himself ultimately at Mosul, near the Mound of Nimroud, where he was impelled with an irresistible desire to examine carefully the place to which history and tradition pointed as the "birthplace of the Wisdom of the West." M. Botta was already carrying out excavations at the cost of the French Government, and he had found a considerable number of curious marbles. Layard earnestly longed for the opportunity of making similar discoveries, and, returning to Constantinople, he expounded his views before "the great Eltchi," Sir Stratford Canning, who generously offered to share the cost of excavations. This was in 1845. In the autumn he set off for Birs Nimroud, and there he began his labours on a spot hitherto undisturbed. He was ultimately rewarded by exhuming some of the numerous wonderful specimens of Assyrian art which now enrich the British Museum. The discovery and the character of these monuments Layard graphically described in his first important work, *Nineveh and its Remains*, published in 1848-49. Yet for a time the British Government had no thanks or encouragement for him. Writing in 1848, while on a visit to Cheltenham, Layard says: "It is to be regretted that proper steps have not been taken for the transport to England of the sculptures discovered at Nineveh. Those which have already reached this country, and, it is to be feared, those which are on their way, have consequently suffered unnecessary injury. The Great Winged Bull and Lion, which I had hoped would have speedily formed an important portion of the national collection, are still lying at Busrah, and there is little prospect at present of their being brought to this country. Surely British ingenuity and resources cannot, as is pretended, be unable to remove objects which have already, with very inadequate means, been transported nearly a thousand miles. The cases containing the small objects, recently deposited in the British Museum, were not only opened without authority at Bombay, but their contents exhibited, without proper precautions, to the public. It is remarkable that several of the most valuable (indeed, *the* most valuable) specimens are missing; and the whole collection was so carelessly repacked that it has sustained very material injury. Were these Assyrian relics, however valuable, such as could be again obtained, either by ingenuity or labour, their loss might not perhaps be so seriously

lamented; but if once destroyed they can never be restored; and it must be remembered that they are almost the only remains of a great city and of a great nation." But while the British authorities were slow in manifesting their gratitude to the explorer, the British public and the Press were cordial in their recognition of his splendid services. The narrative of his discoveries became the book of the day, and the engrossing topic of conversation in almost all circles, and it was translated into several languages. It was followed by a second work, *Nineveh and Babylon* (1851), of which an abridgment was published some years later. In 1853 Layard published his further important work, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert.* This was the result of a second expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. It was dedicated to Lord Granville, "as a grateful acknowledgment of many acts of personal friendship."

Layard unearthed the remains of four distinct palatial edifices at Nineveh and Babylon. The most remarkable discoveries were made in the North-West Palace, supposed to have been built by Sardanapalus. The walls had been lined with large slabs of gypsum or alabaster, covered with bas-reliefs and cuneiform inscriptions. Many of these were sent to England, together with gigantic winged human-headed bulls and lions, and eagle-headed deities. They were placed in the British Museum, of which they have since remained one of the chief attractions. A Nineveh Court was likewise erected in the Crystal Palace, for which the explorer wrote a guide. But while Layard had thus rendered invaluable service as a discoverer, he did not feel competent to take upon himself the task of interpreting the inscriptions he had unearthed. The work of elucidation was left to experts like Oppert, Rawlinson, Norris, and Hinckes. As the value of the Assyrian specimens began to be known, the House of Commons voted a sum of £3000, which was applied by the Trustees of the British Museum in furtherance of Layard's second exploration, referred to above.

In 1849 Layard was appointed Attaché to the Embassy at Constantinople, but he held the post for a short time only. Returning to England he now devoted himself to a political career, with a special view to Eastern affairs. He was returned

for Aylesbury in the Liberal interest in 1852, and became Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for a few weeks, in Lord John Russell's Administration. He might have held office under both Lord Derby and Lord Aberdeen, but he declined. He felt that he could not serve under the Conservative banner, and he was not disposed to accept office unless his knowledge of Eastern questions could be called into requisition. In 1853 he was presented with the freedom of the City of London, in consideration of his discoveries amongst the ruins of Nineveh ; and he went out to Constantinople with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe as a friend, but disagreeing with him on the Russian question returned in the course of the year to England. In the House of Commons he strenuously advocated a more decisive policy on the Eastern question, and delivered several energetic and impressive speeches on that all-absorbing topic. In 1854 he again proceeded to the East, and was a spectator of the important events then taking place in the Crimea, witnessing the battle of the Alma from the maintop of the *Agamemnon*. He remained in the Crimea till after the battle of Inkerman, making himself acquainted with the condition of the British army engaged in the siege of Sebastopol. When the mismanagement and disasters in the Crimea were discussed in the House of Commons he was one of the foremost in demanding a committee of inquiry, and when it was appointed he took a leading part in the investigation, and gave important evidence. When Lord Palmerston formed his first Administration in 1855 he was again offered a post ; but, as it was unconnected with the foreign policy of the country, he declined it. Becoming one of the leaders of the Administrative Reform Association, Layard brought before the House of Commons in June 1855 a motion embodying their views, but it was rejected by a large majority.

Losing his seat for Aylesbury at the elections of 1857, Layard visited India, where he spent some time in 1857-58, investigating the causes which led to the terrible Mutiny. After his return to England in 1859 he unsuccessfully contested York, but he was returned for Southwark in 1860, and in the following year he took office under Lord Palmerston in his old post of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. This appointment he held until the fall of the Russell-Gladstone Administration in 1866. His last ministerial appointment was that of Chief

Commissioner of Works in Mr. Gladstone's Government formed in December 1868, and at this time he was added to the Privy Council. He retired from Parliamentary and official life in 1869, when he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid. His views on the Eastern question having commended him to Lord Beaconsfield in April 1877, he was sent as Ambassador to Constantinople, in succession to Sir Henry Elliot. In this capacity he negotiated the treaty for the British occupation of Cyprus; and his active assertion of the Premier's Imperial policy procured him the Grand Cross of the Bath. The accession to power of the Liberal party in 1880 involved, of course, his retirement from the Embassy. His markedly philo-Turkish sympathies during and after the Russo-Turkish War had excited hostile comments in many quarters.

In 1848 Layard received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, and in 1855 he was elected Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen. He was appointed a trustee of the National Gallery in February 1866. He was a considerable authority on Italian art, in regard to which he always professed himself a devoted follower of the late Signor Morelli. He re-wrote Kügler's well-known *Handbook*, introducing Morelli's judgments very largely; and he edited, with a strongly controversial preface, Miss Ffoulkes's translation of Morelli's *Italian Painters*. As a trustee of the National Gallery he did long and zealous service, and was a right-hand man of Sir Frederic Burton during many years. He formed, moreover, in his house in Venice, a beautiful collection of North Italian pictures. In 1887, returning to the work which had made him famous, he published his *Early Adventures in Persia, Babylonia, and Susiana*. Sir Henry Layard was somewhat brusque and curt in demeanour, except in cases where his intellectual interests were touched, or his sympathies moved. It must be admitted that, as an ambassador, he showed himself wanting in some of the qualities which are required by a diplomatist of the first order, and he failed in his scheme of reinvigorating the Turkish Empire by a close and cordial alliance with England. But he was a man of determined courage and perseverance, and he has left a name deservedly high on the list of archæological investigators and discoverers.

THE COMTE DE PARIS

1838–1894

Obituary Notice, Monday, September 10, 1894

For a hundred years princes of the house of Orleans have either been born or have died in exile. Louis Philippe ended his days on a foreign soil, as his two younger brothers had long before done. His eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, killed by a carriage accident outside Paris in 1842, was a native of Sicily. That Duke's elder son, the Comte de Paris, has now died, like his grandfather and grandmother, one of his great uncles, and his own mother, in England. And his elder son, the Duke of Orleans, was born in England. Will the fatality stop here?

Louis Albert Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris, first saw the light at the Tuileries on 24th August 1838. His father, the Duke of Orleans, heir-apparent to the French throne, was twenty-eight years of age. His mother, Hélène, daughter of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, was twenty-four. Their marriage in the previous year had been arranged by Frederick William III. of Prussia, to whom Louis Philippe had sent his two eldest sons, Orleans and Nemours, on a visit in 1836. Louis Philippe was of course taunted by the Legitimists with his inability to find a better match for his heir than the daughter of a petty German prince, a Protestant to boot; but the marriage proved a happy one. The Duchess of Orleans had plenty of tact as well as culture; she was a pattern wife and mother, an irreproachable daughter-in-law, and she won the respect and esteem of the Parisians, who were flattered, moreover, by the title chosen for her firstborn. The Comte de Paris was baptized with great pomp at Notre Dame on 2nd May

1841, by which time he had a baby brother, the Duc de Chartres, born in the previous November, and the Paris municipality presented him with a costly sword. His mother devoted herself to her two boys, watching over the minutest domestic details and interesting herself in their toys and games. A great blow soon fell on this exemplary household. On 13th July 1842, while the duchess was taking the waters at Plombières, and while her children were at Eu, the duke was killed by leaping from his carriage, the horse having become ungovernable. The Orleans dynasty was plainly imperilled by this calamity. Not merely did Louis Philippe at sixty-nine find himself with an heir only four years old, but French Liberals, who had counted on the Duke of Orleans to introduce progressive ideas, and had therefore been content to wait for a new reign, now saw every prospect of a Regency in the hands of the Duc de Nemours, who notoriously shared the old king's ideas, and had already shown Clerical and Legitimist leanings. They advocated, indeed, the nomination of the Duchess of Orleans as eventual Regent, Lamartine being one of the warmest supporters of that choice, but the rule of a woman was repugnant to French notions, and the Duke of Orleans himself, in a will dated 9th April 1840, had admonished his wife to countenance no attempt to set up her claims in opposition to Nemours, or whoever might be his eldest surviving brother. In that will, moreover, not publicly known till its discovery at the Tuileries in 1848, he had expressed serious misgivings of the destinies of his son. Charging his wife with Philippe's education, he said :—

"It is a great and difficult task to train the Comte de Paris for the destiny which awaits him, for nobody can yet tell what that child will be when a society has to be reconstructed on new bases, which now rests only on the ill-assorted and daily crumbling ruins of previous organisations. But whether the Comte de Paris be one of those instruments broken before being utilised, or whether he becomes one of the workers of that social regeneration, now only descried afar off across great difficulties and perhaps torrents of blood, whether he becomes king or remains an obscure and despised champion of a cause to which we all belong, he must be, above all, a man of his time and of his nation. He must be a Catholic, and a passionate, exclusive servant of France and of the Revolution."

We shall see later the construction put by the Prince on his father's last phrase.

The widowed duchess continued to devote herself to her children, and though she was closely watched, she was never found to interfere in politics beyond expressing to Queen Marie Amélie and her brothers-in-law her apprehensions of the results of the King's "finality" policy. For, though Louis Philippe tolerated no contradiction from his family, he could not prevent their expressing opinions behind his back. In 1843 Adolphe Regnier, a distinguished scholar, ultimately professor of Sanscrit at the Collége de France, became tutor to the young Count, and remained in that post through good and ill fortune till the end of 1851, when his pupil turned his attention mainly to mathematics under M. Baudoin. His mother, restraining her grief for the sake of dynastic interests, took him to the opening of the Chambers at Christmas 1843, when he showed his retentive memory by dictating to his tutor a summary of his grandfather's speech. Less lively, but more studious, than his brother, he was fond of reading, especially history, as also of drawing, and in visiting exhibitions he displayed an interest in mechanics. His father's will had directed that he should first learn modern languages, that he should then be well grounded in history, and that accomplishments should be merely accessory. It also directed that he should be sent to a public college, as his father had been before him, and that he should at least pass the entrance examination at the Polytechnic School. But political events were to frustrate the latter part of this programme.

On 24th February 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, and when the Duchess of Orleans asked him before he quitted the Tuileries for directions, he replied, "It is no longer for me to give directions; the Duc de Nemours is Regent, you must apply to him." Dupin induced the duchess to accompany him with her two boys to the Chamber of Deputies, on the representation that Odilon Barrot, who was expected to form a ministry, wished for her presence. The particulars of that tragic scene are differently related by eye witnesses. The Regency Law was a legal obstacle to the proclamation of the duchess as Regent, though Nemours, who could not have been accepted, was ready to waive his claims. On this plea a provisional government was proposed by Crémieux, and, if we are to believe Lamartine, an indifferent authority,

the nine-year-old king *de jure* innocently clapped his hands at the very speech which tended to dethrone him. What is certain is that the duchess with her sons bravely remained in the Chamber till the invasion of the mob rendered retreat imperative. Whether or not she attempted to speak and her voice was drowned in the uproar, or whether she was dissuaded from speaking, it is evident that a discredited Chamber of placemen could not have saved the monarchy. In a dark lobby of the Palais Bourbon the duchess and her children were separated. The Comte de Paris was seized by a huge, powerful workman, who hugged him tightly and was pretending to be about to strangle him, when a National Guard rescued the child and took him to his mother. Meanwhile poor little Chartres was knocked down and trampled upon, but was happily picked up and taken out of harm's way. The duchess and her elder son took refuge at the Invalides, but that building too was threatened with attack, and the governor could not vouch for the fidelity of his soldiers. The duchess, with her children, had therefore to go to Bligny, the mansion of the Comtesse de Montesquiou, and on the night of the 26th, all hope for the monarchy being at an end, she started for Belgium. Thus, at almost the same age as the Comte de Chambord, whose grandfather also had too late abdicated in his favour, the Comte de Paris entered on an exile which was destined to last nearly a quarter of a century. He is said at Bligny to have protested so strongly against quitting France that his mother's resolution was for a moment shaken.

The fugitives first stopped at Ems and then went on to Eisenach, where the duchess's uncle, the Grand Duke of Weimar, placed at her disposal a château at the foot of the famous Wartburg. Her apartments at the Tuileries had been respected by the mob, and her furniture and dresses were restored to her. In the summer of 1849 she went to England, and the Comte de Paris was confirmed by Cardinal Wiseman at the French Church, Portman Square, in the presence of the whole Orleans family and of many faithful adherents. In 1852 the duchess took her children to Switzerland, where she was thrown from her carriage and fractured her shoulder. On her recovery she settled for a time in Devonshire.

In the winter of 1853, when Louis Philippe had been dead three years, there was an idea of a fusion with the Legitimists.

The Royalist forces, it was thought, should unite, and the Comte de Paris should acknowledge the Comte de Chambord, whose heir he would thus become. The duchess was strongly opposed to this, and the scheme, which caused a temporary coolness in the royal family, was shelved. It is manifestly referred to in her will, dated Eisenach, 1st January 1855, in which she says, "They (her sons) should ever bear in mind the political principles which have made the glory of their house, which their grandfather faithfully observed upon the throne, and which their father, as his will bears witness, ardently adopted." After visits with her children to Scotland, Italy, and repeatedly to Germany, the duchess died at Richmond in 1858, desiring in her will to be eventually buried by her husband's side at Dreux, a wish not to be realised till 1876. The Comte de Paris and his brother were on the point of making a European tour, and their mother had looked forward with anxiety to a separation which death thus precipitated. In 1860 they visited the East, and the Comte de Paris published an account of the tour. The American Civil War in 1861 promised them the opportunity of gaining that knowledge of arms which they could not obtain in France, and which political considerations prevented their seeking elsewhere on the Continent. They accordingly, accompanied by their uncle Prince de Joinville, joined the staff of General M'Clellan and witnessed the siege of Yorktown and the engagements at Williamsburg, Fairoaks, and Gaines Mill. Napoleon III., however, took umbrage at the reception of a Pretender into the Federal army, which was certainly open to the construction of a bid for popularity to the opponents of the Empire, who sided with the North as essentially the Democratic cause. Bent on his Mexican scheme, he was but too inclined to recognise the South, being only held back by England's refusal to join him, and the American Government, though flattered by the Princes' services, could not safely afford to irritate him. They had therefore in the summer of 1862 to return to England.

The Emperor even prohibited the signature of an Orleans Prince in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, so that, when the Comte de Paris, after studying the cotton famine in Lancashire, wrote an account of his observations, it had to be ostensibly fathered by M. Forçade. Articles on German unity and Irish Church disestablishment had to be similarly disguised. Even in recent

years, when his signature would have been not merely permissible but welcome, he is believed to have contributed anonymously or under an *alias* articles on delicate international questions. He interested himself in English trade unions and co-operative associations. He attended a co-operative congress in London about 1867, and delivered a short speech, of course in English. It was curious, at a gathering of working men, to hear Mr. George Potter, the chairman, call on the Comte de Paris. The Count published in 1869 an account of English trade unions which attracted much notice in France, and was translated into English, German, and Spanish. He was far, however, from forcing himself on public attention, and evidently used his pen not to get talked about, but from real interest in the subjects which he handled.

On the breaking out of the war of 1870 the Orleans Princes petitioned to be allowed to serve in the French army, but on 11th August the petition was rejected by the Corps Législatif. The Duc de Chartres, however, after the fall of the Empire, managed to join General Chanzy under an assumed name and to win commendations. After the peace the banishment law of 1848 was formally repealed by the National Assembly, and the Count could at length re-enter France. The Assembly also, in December 1872, awarded the Orleans Princes compensation for the enforced sale—the virtual confiscation—of their estates in France by Louis Napoleon in 1852. Nobody disputed that this was but a partial restitution, but many disputed the opportuneness of the claim, considering that France was still paying by instalments the five milliards exacted by Germany. The acceptance of the money seemed, moreover, an implied renunciation of dynastic pretensions. Yet, on 5th August 1873, those pretensions were reaffirmed, for the Comte de Paris paid homage to the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf and became, as it were, the Dauphin. The obstinate adherence of the Comte de Chambord to the white flag and all that it represented rendered this fusion futile. The Comte de Paris was, of course, taunted by the Republicans with abjuring his family traditions, and later on, in the preface to his father's letters, he indirectly met this charge by arguing that his father, in enjoining him to be a servant of the Revolution, simply meant opposition to European coalitions and the "peaceful diffusion of doctrines which have become the basis of all

modern Governments." Even on this assumption, however, those doctrines were manifestly rejected by the Comte de Chambord, and a better plea would have been that the Duke of Orleans in the altered circumstances would have acted likewise. The Duc d'Aumale, however, consistently held aloof from the fusion.

Residing sometimes in Paris, but mostly at Eu, and holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Second Reserve, the Count led a retired life till the death, in 1883, of the Comte de Chambord, whom, with his uncle Nemours and his cousin Alençon, he had visited in his last illness. He acted as a successor by notifying the death to European Sovereigns, but he did not attend the funeral, for the Comtesse de Chambord refused him the place of chief mourner. Many had expected the Comte de Chambord to leave a will or declaration distinctly acknowledging either the Comte de Paris or Don Carlos as rightful King of France, but "he died and made no sign," which, after all, was a virtual confirmation of the fusion. The French Legitimists accordingly, with very few exceptions, transferred their allegiance to the Comte de Paris, but there was a palpable diminution of their dynastic fervour. Acceptance of Egalité's great-grandson, the grandson of Louis Philippe, who supplanted the elder branch, and of the tricolour, was a bitter pill. Royalism ceased to be a religion, and became merely a duty or a tradition. Nevertheless the elections of 1885, held under the revised system of *scrutin de liste*—Gambetta's unfortunate legacy—were highly favourable to the Royalists. The Republic had apparently received a first warning, and another such rebuff would have been fatal to it. The Republicans were alarmed and exasperated. M. Brisson, then Premier, had in his election speech held out a threat that Pretenders would not be allowed to abuse the hospitality offered by the Republic, and banishment was evidently imminent. The desired pretext was found in a grand reception given by the Comte de Paris in May 1886, in honour of the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Crown Prince of Portugal—a marriage which established a kind of relationship between the rival Orleans and Bonaparte families, for the bridegroom was nephew of Prince Napoleon's wife. The foreign Ambassadors were invited, and there was a large muster of the French aristocracy. But, after all, the great offence lay in a flaming article in the *Figaro*, for which the Comte de Paris was in no

way responsible, which represented him as having a Ministry and a Court all ready to his hand. The Radicals clamoured for the expulsion of the Pretenders, and M. de Freycinet, with his usual pliancy, introduced a Bill which banished the heads of ex-regnant families and their eldest sons, disabled all members of such families from all public functions, and empowered the Government to banish any of them by decree. M. Casimir-Perier, as a grandson of Louis Philippe's Prime Minister, thereupon resigned his seat in the Chamber, being unable, as he said, to reconcile his Republican duty with his ancestral ties, but he was re-elected. The Bill passed in the Chamber by a large, and in the Senate by a small, majority—137 to 122. The Comte de Paris, after issuing a dignified manifesto, immediately left Eu with his family for England. A few weeks afterwards the Duc d'Aumale, for a letter to President Grévy protesting against his exclusion from the army, was also banished by decree, and, although he took a splendid revenge by a deed of gift bequeathing Chantilly and all its treasures to the Institute of France, that decree was not rescinded till 1889.

Released by exile from the silence previously incumbent on him, the Comte de Paris issued a "memorandum" at the end of 1886, and an address to the mayors of France in July 1888. In these he distinctly accepted universal suffrage, and even showed a readiness to ascend the throne by a *plebiscite*, but he dwelt on the necessity of a counterpoise in the shape of a dynasty and a firm Executive, and of the protection of the Church from harassing attacks. He also received French deputations in Jersey. General Boulanger was now in the field, and it became a question whether the Royalists, like the Bonapartists, should form an alliance with him. There was much difference of opinion on this point, and when the Comte de Paris decided on the alliance, some of his leading supporters sorrowfully retired from the political arena, while others reluctantly submitted. The Duc d'Aumale, the cringing letters to whom Boulanger had repudiated till confronted with the facsimiles, was understood to have said of the alliance: "I do not know whether it is for our interest, but I know it is not for our honour." Much obscurity still hangs over the compact. Did the Royalists expect Boulanger to prove a Monk, or was the Comte de Paris satisfied with an engagement immediately on his accession to power to set aside the banishment law? However this may be, it is believed that

Boulanger had an interview with the Count in London in the summer of 1889. Whether this was derogatory or not, it was no case of conspiracy or treachery, as when Prince Napoleon was visited in Switzerland by Boulanger, then holding a command under the Republic which he was seeking to overturn. The London interview was the meeting of two avowed enemies of the French Government. On the approach of the elections, though the Boulangist tide was fast ebbing, and though it was certain that France would not vote for a man who had run away, the Comte de Paris recommended his friends, in constituencies where they had no candidate of their own, "not to treat as enemies those who are fighting the same adversaries as yourselves." The elections were a crushing defeat for the Anti-Republican coalition, and the Comte de Paris was in America, collecting materials for the completion of his eight-volume history of the War of Secession, when his elder son set the banishment law at defiance by suddenly presenting himself in Paris and claiming to serve as a conscript. The young prince, who thus obtained a fleeting popularity among the Royalists, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but liberated after four months' detention. Little has since been heard of the Comte de Paris. Occasional letters of congratulation or condolence have not appreciably mitigated the discouragement produced among his followers by the Pope's condemnation, the secession of the "Rallied," and a fresh defeat at the elections. His father's forebodings of his destiny have been but too painfully verified.

The Count married, in 1864, his cousin, daughter of the Duc de Montpensier, by whom he leaves six children—the Queen of Portugal (born 1865), the Duc d'Orléans (born 1869), Princess Hélène (born 1871), Princess Isabelle (born 1871), Princess Louise (born 1882), and Prince Ferdinand (born 1884).

THE TSAR ALEXANDER III.

1845–1894

Obituary Notice, Friday, November 2, 1894

The Emperor Nicholas, when on his deathbed, is reported to have said that he had reached and passed the age which God generally granted to the members of his family. At that time he was not yet fifty-nine years of age. His brother Alexander I. had died at the age of forty-eight and his other brothers, the Grand Dukes Constantine and Michael, at sixty and fifty-one respectively. If we take the sons and grandsons of the Emperor Paul, who are now all dead with one exception, we find that the average is about fifty-eight. It can hardly be said, therefore, that the Romanoffs are a very short-lived race, but it must be admitted that their longevity is not nearly so great as we should expect from men of such Herculean mould. Almost without exception they have been very tall, broad-shouldered, muscular, and commanding in appearance. In these respects Alexander III. was no exception to the rule.

He had not, indeed, the regularity and delicacy of features which distinguished Alexander I. and Nicholas. Some acute physiognomists imagined they could perceive in his features traces of his descent from Paul I., and some of the people who knew him best believed they could detect in him, especially in his later years, symptoms of the impatient waywardness and dislike of even the most respectful suggestions which characterised that eccentric and unfortunate monarch. Certainly he had not much in common with his liberal-minded, kind-hearted, well-intentioned father, Alexander II., and still less with his refined, philosophic, sentimental, chivalrous, yet cunning, grand-uncle Alexander I., who coveted the title of " the first

gentleman of Europe." With high culture, exquisite refinement, polished manners, and studied elegance he had no sympathy, and never affected to have any. Indeed, he rather gloried in the idea of being of the same rough texture as the great majority of his subjects; and, if he knew that he was sometimes disrespectfully called behind his back "the Peasant Tsar" (*Muzhitski Tsar*), he probably regarded the epithet as a compliment. His straightforward, abrupt manner, savouring sometimes of gruffness, and his direct, unadorned method of expressing himself, harmonised well with his rough-hewn, immobile features and somewhat sluggish movements.

The impression which he generally made in conversation was that of a good, honest, moderately intelligent, strong-willed man, who might perhaps listen to explanations or objections, but who would certainly stand no nonsense, whether from subordinates or from any one else. It was as a man rather than as an Emperor that his amiable qualities became apparent. All the world knows in a general way that he was the incarnation of all the domestic virtues; but only those who had the privilege of observing him in the unrestrained intimacy of the family circle, especially when he had an opportunity of romping with children or amusing himself with his four-footed pets, could fully realise what a simple, kindly, affectionate nature was concealed behind the by no means sympathetic exterior which was presented to the world at large.

Born in 1845, Alexander had, during the first twenty years of his life, no prospect of succeeding to the throne, because he had an elder brother, Nicholas, who seemed of a fairly robust constitution, and even when the elder brother showed symptoms of delicate health it was believed that his life might be indefinitely prolonged by proper care and attention, while the succession might be regarded as tolerably well secured by his betrothal with the Princess Dagmar of Denmark. In these circumstances the greatest care and solicitude were devoted to the education of Nicholas as Cesarewitch or Heir-Apparent, whereas Alexander received merely the perfunctory and inadequate education of an ordinary Grand Duke of that period, which did not go much beyond primary instruction, practical acquaintance with French, English, and German, and a large amount of drill. He did not receive so much of this last element as his father and uncles, because when he was only ten years old his grandfather, the

Emperor Nicholas, died, and with him expired the old martinet *régime* which had become discredited by the result of the Crimean War. Drill and discipline were no longer regarded as the great objects of life, and even a Grand Duke might be allowed to devote, if he so desired, a considerable share of his attention to liberal studies. The tradition, however, survived that every Grand Duke must serve an indefinite time in the army or navy. Alexander Alexandrovitch followed this custom, and his irregularities in attending drill were not redeemed by any extraordinary zeal for studies of other kinds.

If the truth must be told, he showed no enthusiasm either for soldiering or for study—for the latter perhaps a certain repugnance, unless when it was presented in small quantities and in an attractive form. Among his professors, the only one who obtained a lasting influence over him was M. Pobédonóstsef, who seems to have instilled into his mind the idea that zeal for Eastern Orthodoxy forms an essential and very important factor in Russian patriotism. Whether he ever suggested that this zeal should be carried to the extent of persecuting the adherents of other religions it is impossible to say. M. Pobédonóstsef's mind presents a very curious mixture of legal principles and sacerdotalism, not unmixed with benevolence, and in minds of this type stern religious convictions, fortified by legal training, will sometimes silence the more benevolent instincts.

It was probably at this time that the seeds of Alexander III.'s future internal policy were sown, but they did not at once bear any visible fruit. If he expressed any opinions on public affairs they attracted little attention, as coming from a younger son who was never likely to have much political influence. But his position was entirely changed when his elder brother died at Nice on 24th August 1865. That lamentable event made him Heir-Apparent, and he had now to prepare himself for his future duties as Autocrat of All the Russias. His brother, when on his deathbed, had expressed a wish that his affianced bride, the Princess Dagmar of Denmark, should marry his brother and successor, and this wish was realised on 9th November of the following year. Marie Sophie Frederike Dagmar, daughter of Christian IX., King of Denmark, and sister of our Princess of Wales, became the Cesarévna, under the new name of Maria Feódorovna. The marriage was not altogether approved in certain quarters, but it proved a most successful

union. It was based on mutual affection and respect, and remained unclouded till the end. Rarely even among ordinary people, where the sphere of choice is practically unrestricted, have spouses found themselves so admirably adapted to each other, or has matrimonial felicity been so perfect. Five children were born to the royal pair, three sons—Nicholas, George, and Michael—and two daughters, Xenia and Olga, the former of whom was married recently to her cousin Alexander Mikhailovitch.

The first symptoms of an independent attitude on the part of the new Cesarewitch was an undisguised hostility to Germans. In this he struck a very sensitive chord in the heart of the Russian upper classes. In their good qualities, as in their defects, the Russians and the Germans present a singular contrast. The Russians have a quickness of intelligence, a liveliness of imagination, an intellectual and moral suppleness, a capacity for easily-kindled enthusiasm, an open-handed generosity, and a recklessness of consequences which are altogether foreign to the Teutonic race. On the other hand, the Germans have a capacity for prolonged intellectual exertion, a tenacity of purpose, a love of order and method, a cautious frugality, and a rigid conscientiousness which are incompatible with the so-called "broad Slavonic nature" (*shirokaya Slavianskaya natura*). Ever since the time of Peter the Great the Germans had been the civilising element in Russia—the schoolmasters in the widest sense of the term. They had been not merely the professors in the schools, colleges, and universities, but the methodical, hard-working members of the administration, and they had held a very large part of the higher posts in the army. In all positions where technical knowledge, assiduous labour, and habitual accuracy were required the Germans were pretty sure to be in a majority, and as long as the Russians could make no claim to rival their teachers in these respects the system worked tolerably well, without any very great amount of friction. But when the pupils began to imagine that their innate intellectual superiority more than counterbalanced their deficiencies in training, a rivalry very soon showed itself, and it became intensified by the resistance and contempt which the teachers displayed towards the new-born presumption and pretensions of their pupils. During the repressive *régime* of Nicholas, who appreciated highly the capacities and virtues of his German servants, the anti-German tendencies were not allowed to take a practical form, and they

accordingly found expression in a philosophical theory, preached by the first generation of the Slavophils. According to that theory Russia had made a mistake in adopting the arts and sciences of Western Europe in a wholesale fashion and without digesting them, and she ought now to strike out for herself a new path better adapted to the wants and capabilities of the national character. Gathering courage as they advanced, the new philosophers of nationalism soon declared that the whole Roman Catholic and Protestant world had taken a wrong direction, that Western Europe was intellectually, morally, and socially "rotten," and that Russia must seek her salvation, not in servile imitation of Western models, but in developing the principles of Eastern Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. Civilisation had long been the property of the Latin races, and from them it passed to the Teutonic family: but now that Latins and Teutons were sunk in error and decrepitude, the future belonged to the Slavs.

The Cesarewitch Alexander never openly gave his adherence to this doctrine, and probably never even tacitly adopted it, but he was to a certain extent in sympathy with its adherents, and he was for some time in correspondence with M. Ivan Aksákof, one of the most enthusiastic and most sympathetic of the Slavophil group. With the group he had several desires and opinions in common. Like them he was opposed to the predominance of foreign influence in general, and German in particular; he longed to see the genuine national principles developed in the civil and military administration, and he hoped to make some advance towards realising the idea of a homogeneous Russia—homogeneous in language, in administration, and in religious beliefs. The great obstacle seemed to him to be the traditional German influence, and he was at no pains to conceal his anti-German sentiments. In the Franco-German War of 1870-71 his sympathies were undoubtedly with the French.

In this anti-German feeling, tinged with Slavophilism, lay the germs of that estrangement between Alexander and his father, which culminated shortly before the death of the latter. Alexander II., though a good patriot according to his lights, and very jealous of the national honour, had strong German sympathies, very often used the German language in his private relations, and based his foreign policy on the Prussian alliance,

while he had no patience with the exaggerations and eccentricities of the Slavophils. Gradually the Anitchkoff Palace, where the Cesarewitch lived when in St. Petersburg, came to be looked upon as the headquarters of an informal opposition to German influence, though the Cesarewitch himself refrained scrupulously from publicly assuming an attitude of antagonism to his father.

In 1875 began the Slavophil agitation which fomented the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina, produced the Turko-Servian War, provoked the "Bulgarian atrocities," and culminated in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Like the great majority of his countrymen, the Cesarewitch Alexander sympathised to some extent with the movement, but he took no active part in the agitation, and could not approve of the means employed by some of the more excited, imaginative, and noisy agitators. His phlegmatic nature preserved him from many of the illusions and exaggerations which were then in fashion, and any of the prevalent illusions which he may have imbibed were soon dispelled by personal observation in Bulgaria, where he commanded the left wing of the invading army. The Bulgarians had been represented in St. Petersburg and Moscow not only as martyrs but as saints, and a very little personal experience sufficed to correct the error. Like nearly all his brother officers, he could not feel any very lively affection for the "little brothers" (*bratushki*), as the Bulgarians were then called, and he was constrained to admit that there was a good deal to be said for the "unspeakable Turk." He did not, however, scandalise the believers by any public expression of his opinions, and did not indeed make himself conspicuous in any way during the campaign. Rarely, if ever, consulted on political questions, he confined himself to his military duties, and fulfilled them in a quiet, conscientious, and unobtrusive fashion.

During the three years that followed the campaign, until the death of his father, his attitude of dissatisfaction with, rather than opposition to, the existing *régime* became more accentuated. In matters of foreign policy he had no longer much reason to complain, for the German alliance had been abandoned, and Prince Bismarck was thoroughly detested in both official and unofficial circles. Russia had expected that, in return for the support which had enabled Bismarck to create the German Empire, she would be energetically supported

by Berlin in her efforts to solve the Eastern Question in accordance with her own interests. In this expectation she had been disappointed. To her surprise and indignation, Prince Bismarck, instead of coming forward as an energetic partisan in the serious European complications evoked by the war, proclaimed himself an impartial "honest broker"; and when the Cabinet of St. Petersburg showed its disappointment and displeasure he ostentatiously contracted an alliance with Austria for effectually opposing Russian aspirations. This was too much even for Alexander II., and the anti-German tendencies were allowed to gain the upper hand. The Cesarewitch, therefore, had cause to be satisfied, and he could point to these results as confirming his previous apprehensions and predictions. If Russia had, as he desired, interfered in favour of France and prevented the creation of the German Empire, her position in Europe would have been much more satisfactory. It was too late, however, for regrets. The only thing for Russia to do was to recover as quickly as possible from her exhaustion and to prepare for future contingencies by a radical scheme of military and naval reorganisation. The Cesarewitch Alexander's ideas on this subject brought him into antagonism with the Government.

During the campaign in Bulgaria the Cesarewitch had found by a series of painful experiences that grave disorders and gross corruption existed in the army administration, and after his return to St. Petersburg he discovered that similar abuses existed in the naval department. For these abuses several high-placed personages—amongst others two of the Emperor's brothers—were believed to be in part responsible, and the Cesarewitch ventured to call his father's attention to the subject. His representations were not very favourably received. Alexander II. had by this time lost much of the reforming zeal which distinguished the first decade of his reign, and had no longer the energy required for undertaking the task which his son suggested to him. He must have more than suspected that the graver charges were not without some foundation, but he shrank from probing the wound, and the only practical result of the Cesarewitch's action was that his relations with his two uncles became strained, and his relations with his father were far from cordial.

It was supposed by many people that the patriotic feelings

evoked by the war with Turkey would paralyse, for a time at least, the Nihilist tendencies; but this idea proved fallacious. Never, perhaps, were the Nihilists more active than during the campaign and immediately afterwards. The authorities were proportionately vigilant and energetic, and numerous arrests and condemnations were effected; but these efforts failed to effect their objects, and stimulated among the friends and acquaintances of the victims the desire for revenge. Several of the Nihilist groups felt that it was a life and death struggle, and determined to strike a telling blow. Various conspiracies for assassinating the Tsar were secretly hatched, and at last one of them was successful. On 13th March 1881, when returning in a sledge from a military parade, Alexander II. was mortally wounded by the explosion of a bomb, and he died shortly afterwards. The Cesarewitch, whose early life we have been describing, ascended the throne as Alexander III.

By a curious coincidence, on the very day of his death Alexander II. had taken an important step towards introducing into his Empire a constitutional *régime*, by signing an Ukase convoking an Assembly of Notables. For some time he had hesitated between strengthening the hands of the administration and making concessions to the wide-spread political aspirations of the educated classes, and he had finally decided—chiefly under the influence of Count Loris Melikoff, a clever official of Armenian extraction—in favour of the latter course. The first step in this direction was the Ukase above mentioned. The draft of the proposed reforms was never published, so that it is impossible to speak of the scheme in detail: but it is tolerably certain that Alexander II. intended to create some kind of representative assembly, having merely a deliberative voice in general politics, but with a certain amount of control in financial matters. As to how far such an innovation was likely to attain the object in view we need not speculate. The experiment was never made. Alexander III., on the tragic death of his father, cancelled the Ukase before it was published, and in the manifesto which he issued announcing his accession to the throne he let it be very clearly understood that he had no intention of limiting or weakening the autocratic power which he had inherited from his ancestors. Nor did he afterwards show any inclination to change his mind.

All the internal reforms which he initiated were in the

opposite direction, so that he came to be regarded as distinctly retrograde by all the men of Liberal tendencies among his subjects. If he never solemnly proclaimed the three Slavophil principles of Eastern Orthodoxy, nationality, and autocracy, he certainly made them, consciously or unconsciously, the guiding principles of his internal policy. Bearing this fact in mind, we can have no difficulty in understanding the administrative changes which he initiated, and we must admit that, if he was not a great statesman, he had, at least, a considerable amount of logical coherence in his ideas, and displayed a persistent tenacity in carrying them out. In this latter respect, as well as in a want of intellectual suppleness, the students of heredity might detect traces of his German descent, though he prided himself on being Russian to the core.

To explain fully in a manner intelligible to general readers the administrative changes introduced, it would be necessary to describe in detail the complicated administrative system of the great Russian Empire, and such description cannot, of course, be attempted within the limits of an obituary notice. All we can do here is to indicate in cursory fashion how the new Tsar sought to apply the three principles which he took for his guidance. We may take them in the order above stated, but it is hardly possible to treat the first two separately. In the Russian mind and in Russian history the ideas of religion and nationality are so interwoven that it is practically impossible to unravel them. It is often declared, and there is undoubtedly much truth in the assertion, that a man cannot be a thorough, genuine Russian unless he has been brought up in the Eastern Orthodox faith.

In the conceptions and common parlance of the peasantry the Protestant is a *Nemets* (German), the Roman Catholic a *Poliak* (Pole), and the Mussulman a *Bussurman* (Tartar). The Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Mussulman may be a most loyal and devoted subject of the Tsar ; he may speak the Russian language like a mother-tongue, though in reality he rarely does so ; and he may have passed through the ordinary Russian schools and colleges ; but he is no more a genuine Russian than the English-speaking Hindu or Indian Mussulman is a genuine Englishman. The fact is that the various nationalities of which the Russian people, in the official sense of the term, is composed have not yet become completely amalgamated, and the greatest barrier to

amalgamation in the present and in the future is the difference of religious confession. If, therefore, the Russian nation is ever to become homogeneous, the religious differences must be removed or softened. But how is this to be effected? To a practical mind the problem is insoluble, except possibly by the action of time, and there are no premonitory symptoms of a change, for Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Tartars never join the Eastern Orthodox Church. Expulsion is impossible, for the number of Russian subjects belonging to schismatic, heretical, and infidel confessions is too great for such a drastic measure.

It is only in the case of the Jews that such a course has been attempted, and it has had no appreciable effect on the statistics of the population. It is thought, however, that something may be done in the direction of assimilation. If the dissidents will not change their religion, they may at least be compelled to adopt the language and the schools of the dominant nationality, and all the remnants of local self-government founded on different nationality may be destroyed. All branches of the administration and all manifestations of public life may be rendered homogeneous by being assimilated to the Russian type. This is the policy which Alexander III. had at heart and which he endeavoured cautiously to apply in Poland and Lithuania, the Baltic Provinces, Finland, the German Colonies, and the Caucasus. How far the policy will be ultimately successful it would be hazardous to predict. For the present it has in some respects defeated its object by intensifying race animosities.

So far as the religious communities of foreign origin are concerned, the Russian Government has never interfered with the free exercise of their religion, but it has considered itself justified in preventing the spread of dissent. Propaganda by these communities is strictly forbidden, and is liable to be punished; and in the reign of Alexander III. this principle was carried so far that Orthodox Russians who went over to any other religious confession were subjected to more or less severe persecution. The Stundists of the southern provinces, a rapidly-increasing Evangelical sect of the Protestant type, who had probably adopted their new religious views from the neighbouring German Colonies, had much to suffer for the faith, though their sufferings did not attract in foreign countries so

much attention as the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected.

In the cruel measures adopted against the Jews the Tsar had unquestionably the sympathy of the great majority of his subjects, and it was supposed that the measures could be justified from the moral point of view on the ground that the Semitic element had a corrupting influence on the rest of the population. In Russia proper the Jews have never been allowed to settle except as a special privilege, but the numbers of the privileged had greatly increased by the natural fecundity of the race and by certain administrative abuses, from which some of the officials derived pecuniary advantage. By suppressing these abuses and rigorously applying laws which had been allowed to fall into disuse, the Tsar hoped to compel a large proportion of the Jewish population to retire to the Polish provinces, from which they originally came; and at the same time, by Ministerial circulars, he endeavoured to exclude from positions of influence those who were allowed to remain. Such a policy, especially when carried out by the lower grades of police officials, naturally gave rise to great hardships and suffering; but the Tsar clung to his idea, and turned a deaf ear to all representations made to him on the subject. Latterly, however, there seems to have been a diminution in the zeal and rigour originally displayed.

So much for the first two principles, Orthodoxy and nationality. With regard to the third, autocracy, the Tsar was equally persistent. We have seen that he cancelled the Ukase by which his father called together a consultative Assembly of Notables. But he did not stop there. He clipped the feeble wings of the Zemstvo, a kind of elective local administration somewhat resembling our county councils, and he placed the autonomous administration of the peasantry under the supervision of landed proprietors appointed by the Government. At the same time he sought to strengthen and centralise the Imperial administration, and to bring it more and more under his personal control. Had he lived ten or fifteen years longer he would probably have, in great part, revived the personal *régime* of his grandfather, the Emperor Nicholas. Animated by the best intentions, he struggled hard to suppress existing abuses, and not altogether without success. In the early part of his reign he devoted particular attention to the

financial administration, and gave an example of retrenchment by cutting down the Civil List and the sums allotted to the numerous members of the Imperial Family. He was fortunate enough to find in this department several able coadjutors, MM. Bunge, Vishnegradski, and Witte, and there is no doubt that, though abuses still exist, a certain improvement was effected.

In seeking to increase the autocratic power, Alexander III. was merely following the ordinary course of Russian modern history. Ever since the time of Peter the Great the official history of Russia has been a series of violent oscillations between extreme liberal innovation and equally extreme reaction. To confine ourselves to the present century, the capricious despotism of Paul was followed by the sentimental Liberalism of Alexander I., and this provoked the martinet *régime* of Nicholas, which was followed by the gigantic Liberal reforms of Alexander II. It was almost in the nature of things, therefore, that Alexander III. should adopt a reactionary policy, and we ought now, if we may judge of the future by the past, to be within measurable distance of a new hurricane of Liberal reforms. For some years to come, however, the domestic policy of Alexander III. will in all probability be continued, without essential modifications, by his successor.

In foreign affairs Alexander III. showed the same spirit of continuity and tenacity which he displayed in his home policy. Though firmly determined to maintain the dignity and protect the interests of his country, he was essentially a man of peace. He had no love of soldiering or of military glory, and did not imagine himself to be a great general. As a young man he had seen during the Bulgarian campaign the horrors of war, and he was anxious to avoid again subjecting his people to the sufferings which he had witnessed. At the same time he was by no means an adherent of the contemptible and dangerous principle of peace at any price. He foresaw that sooner or later Russia would probably be involved in a great struggle, and in order to be prepared for it, as well as in order to secure for his country the influence in European affairs to which he considered her entitled, he constantly devoted the greatest attention to the continuous reorganisation of the army and navy. If we compare the military and naval forces of Russia at the close of Alexander II.'s reign with those of the present day, we must admit that his efforts were remarkably successful, and that in

this sphere of activity at least he might claim to have deserved well of his country.

In his foreign policy the four points which chiefly deserve attention are his relations with the Central Powers, his attitude towards Bulgaria, the French *entente*, and the expansion of Russia in Central Asia. At the time of his accession the relations with Germany were, as we have said, far from cordial. The attitude of Bismarck at the Berlin Congress had been for all patriotic Russians a bitter disappointment, and his defensive alliance with Austria, concluded avowedly and almost ostentatiously for the purpose of resisting aggressive action on the part of Russia, had increased the popular indignation. In this disappointment and indignation Alexander II., in spite of his strong personal affection for the old Emperor William, had shared, and it was generally assumed that his successor, with his well-known anti-German tendencies, would take up towards Germany an attitude of decided hostility, which might easily lead to an open rupture. These apprehensions were not realised. An Heir-Apparent naturally becomes more prudent when he succeeds to the responsibilities of his predecessor ; and at a moment when revolutionary conspiracies and Anarchical fanaticism aspire to overthrow constituted authority in all its forms, Monarchical governments are naturally inclined to draw closer together. A few months after his accession the Tsar paid a visit to the Emperor William at Dantsic, and it was commonly believed that he showed a desire to revive the old cordial relations which had so long existed between the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. However this may have been, it is certain that in 1884-85, a temporary *rapprochement* was effected with Germany and Austria, and competent observers believed that the interviews of Skiernievice and Kremsier indicated a revival of the Dreikaiserbund. The facts are still enveloped in obscurity, so that it is impossible to define accurately the relations between Russia and the two Germanic Powers at that time. Russia continued actively her military reorganisation, and gradually the relations again became strained. Experts observed that large masses of troops were moved slowly towards the western provinces, whilst the strategic railways leading to the German and Austrian frontiers were extended and improved. Russian diplomacy explained that these warlike preparations had an essentially defensive character, but there was grave

reason to fear that the bellicose tendencies of an excited and noisy section of the Russian people might perhaps not always be successfully restrained by the Tsar's well-known pacific disposition.

In 1885-86, his Majesty's pacific disposition was put to a severe trial. The party of action in Bulgaria suddenly effected a revolution in Philippopolis, expelled the Governor-General, who represented the Sultan, and proclaimed the union of the autonomous province of Eastern Roumelia with the Bulgarian Principality. Prince Alexander, who was at that moment at Varna, accepted the *fait accompli*, hurried to Philippopolis, and prepared to resist the entrance of the Turkish troops, which were being concentrated near Adrianople. He had reason to expect that he would receive Russian support, because the union of the autonomous province and the principality had previously been an essential part of Russian policy, and there is no doubt that the Russian Consulate, including a Military Attaché, had encouraged the unionist movement. In this respect he was soon undeceived. The policy of creating a big Bulgaria as a convenient stepping-stone to the ultimate possession of Constantinople, though still actively pursued by some over-zealous local agents, was no longer in favour at the Russian Foreign Office. To the surprise of those who believed in the half mystical and wholly mythical doctrine of Slavonic brotherhood, the "little brothers" of the Balkans had begun to show themselves less unquestioningly grateful and less docile than during the period immediately after their emancipation, and it seemed by no means impossible that, if their chief political aspirations were satisfied, they might no longer feel any necessity for Russian assistance and sympathy, and might consequently cease to be a useful Russian instrument in the solution of the Eastern Question. For the more keen-sighted politicians of St. Petersburg who perceived this danger the Philippopolis revolution could hardly be a welcome incident. Whether the Tsar had attained to this new point of view we cannot say ; but it is certain that he had other and more personal causes to be highly displeased with what had taken place. Whilst still Heir-Apparent he had conceived for Prince Alexander a personal dislike, and he considered that his father and the Russian Government treated him with far too much indulgence. After his accession this feeling of antipathy increased. During the coronation *fêtes* the

Prince did not receive all the attention and consideration to which he imagined himself entitled, and incautious expressions of his dissatisfaction reached his Majesty's ears. On his return to Bulgaria he gave new causes of offence, which tended to confirm the suspicions of his want of loyalty towards his benefactors. He paid very little attention to the friendly counsels transmitted to him from St. Petersburg, and he evidently aimed at emancipating himself entirely from Russian tutelage. This tendency to insubordination had been flagrantly displayed in the Philippopolis incident. He was suspected of having fomented secretly the unionist movement, and in any case he had accepted the *fait accompli* without waiting for instructions, or even asking advice.

Such gross insubordination could not be allowed to pass unpunished. The first blow was severe and dexterously aimed, but it missed the mark. At a critical moment, when Bulgaria was threatened on the one side by the Turks and on the other by the Servians, the Russian officers who had created and still commanded the Bulgarian army received orders to send in at once their resignations. This, it was thought, would bring the Prince to his knees; but the expected consequences did not ensue. European diplomacy restrained the Turks, and the Bulgarian army without its Russian officers beat the Servians at Slivnitza. Accordingly, the breach between the Tsar and the Prince widened until the latter was kidnapped by conspirators and subsequently abdicated under strong pressure from St. Petersburg.

Alexander III. seems to have imagined that as soon as the Prince retired the Bulgarians would return to their previous state of gratitude and docility; but this illusion was quickly dispelled by the reception given to the Imperial Commissioner, General Kaulbars, who made a tour in Bulgaria for the purpose of receiving the homage of the population and making arrangements for carrying on the Government until a new Imperial nominee should be placed on the throne. The population did not at all respond to the gracious message, and Stamboloff, who was regarded as the incarnation of the anti-Russian tendencies, remained in power. The Tsar must have been strongly tempted to put an end to the resistance by force, and in many competent quarters it was feared that a Russian occupation of the principality was imminent; but his Majesty determined not to run

the risk of provoking a European war, and even when the Bulgarians elected a new Prince without his consent he remained steadfast to his resolution.

These disagreeable events in Bulgaria were not without influence on Russian policy in Western Europe. The Tsar suspected Bismarck of having secretly instigated Prince Alexander to emancipate himself from his protectors, and his suspicions seemed to be confirmed by certain confidential documents which were said to have been found at the Palace in Sofia when Prince Alexander was treacherously kidnapped. The documents were subsequently proved by Bismarck to be forgeries; but the suspicions of secret hostility on the part of Germany were never entirely obliterated from the Imperial mind, and, after Bismarck's retirement, it was feared that Russia might be the victim of a *coup de tête* of the young Emperor William. In these circumstances, it was considered advisable to turn an ear to the advances which were being persistently made by France. How this change of attitude was hailed with enthusiasm and strangely exaggerated, if not entirely misinterpreted, in France, on the occasion of the visit of the Russian squadron to French waters in the autumn of last year, is still too fresh in the public memory to require any description here.

Though Alexander III. had undoubtedly French sympathies, awakened by early education and strengthened by his dislike to German influence in Russia, he was too autocratic to enjoy hearing the "Marseillaise" in his own capital, and too prudent to ally himself closely with an impetuous nation under a weak Government. While he allowed his ministers to make use of the so-called *entente* for diplomatic purposes, such as facilitating Russian loans on the Paris Bourse and obtaining from Germany a desirable commercial treaty, he had no intention of letting himself be dragged into a European war, undertaken for the purpose of realising French patriotic aspirations.

In Central Asian affairs Alexander III. did not strike out any new line of his own, and merely followed the traditional policy of gradually extending Russian domination without provoking a conflict with England. During his reign a considerable advance was made towards the Indian frontier, and at one moment, in 1886, when the Afghans were attacked at Penjdeh, a great war seemed imminent. Fortunately, by the coolness and moderation displayed on both sides, the struggle was averted,

and there is no doubt that the Tsar used his personal influence on the occasion in favour of an amicable solution. On the whole, if he did not do much to restrain the expansion, except when over-zealous frontier officials disobeyed instructions, he did little to stimulate it, and he never allowed the bellicose forward party to get out of hand.

It would be idle to speculate as to what the final verdict of history will be regarding the reign and character of Alexander III., but on several points we might venture to hazard a prediction. He will probably be regarded as a man of fair average intelligence, sound common sense, upright intentions, and tenacity of purpose, rather than as a great statesman. Though he greatly increased, both for defensive and for offensive purposes, the military and naval strength of his Empire, Europe will long have reason to be grateful to him for the prudent and humane firmness which he displayed in refraining, sometimes under serious provocation, from using the powerful instruments of aggression which he had created. If he cannot be considered one of the greatest of Russian sovereigns, he has at least left behind him an untarnished name—untarnished even by inordinate ambition—and the well-deserved reputation of having faithfully served his country with patriotic zeal, unaffected modesty, and rare singleness of purpose.

Of his successor, who now ascends the throne under the name of Nicholas II., it is too soon to make predictions, but all the trustworthy information which we possess regarding him goes to prove that he is a man of the same type as his father. Time and the influence of his surroundings may possibly develop in him characteristics of another kind dangerous to the peace of Europe. But, for the present at least, there seems no reason to apprehend any sudden radical change in the foreign policy of the Empire.

FERDINAND DE LESSEPS

1805–1894

Obituary Notice, Saturday, December 8, 1894

Ferdinand de Lesseps was born at Versailles, 19th November 1805. His father, Mathieu de Lesseps, fulfilled in succession many important functions. Diplomatic instincts and a thirst for adventure were hereditary in the De Lesseps family. Some of them collaborated with Mazarin and Choiseul, all were ardent patriots, men of action and of movement. Ferdinand de Lesseps manifested the same predilections as his ancestors. In consideration of the services of his father, he received his education, under the auspices and at the expense of the State, at the Lycée Napoléon, which under the Restoration took the name of Collège Henri IV. In 1825 he was appointed as Attaché to the French Consulate at Lisbon, and after a short period of service in the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, was named Attaché to the Consulate-General at Tunis in 1828. Transferred to Egypt in 1831, he became Consul at Cairo in 1833 and subsequently at Rotterdam, Malaga, and Barcelona.

Selected immediately after the Revolution of 1848 by M. de Lamartine for the French Embassy in Spain, M. de Lesseps was about to repair to Madrid when he received an extract from a Spanish journal, in which it was said that the people of Paris, after having seized the Tuileries, had stolen the things left there by an Infanta of Spain. The Royal family had left behind them all their most valuable effects, including the jewelry of the Spanish Princess who was the wife of the Duc de Montpensier. The new Ambassador determined

to recover this, and after great difficulty he obtained a note from the Mayor of Paris to the insurgents to this effect:—

"M. de Lesseps is appointed Ambassador of the French Republic in Spain. He would like to take with him the effects belonging to the Spanish Infanta. As she is a foreigner, it would be advisable to respect what property she left at the Tuileries. I will be obliged, therefore, if you will hand over to M. de Lesseps the articles which this 'young person' asks for."

The Ambassador went with this note to the Échelle wicket-gate, where he saw a number of men in their shirt-sleeves, very untidy, some of them wounded and wearing bandages on their heads. He explained his errand, and was assisted in his efforts by M. de Montaut, a student of the Polytechnic School, who became afterwards the first engineer attached to the Suez Canal, and who was entrusted with one of the divisions of the works. After a long interchange of views, M. de Lesseps was assured by one of the insurgents that the property in question had been safely removed to the Ministry of Finance and the National Library. M. de Lesseps arranged to have the whole taken to the Spanish Embassy, and gave a receipt for what was deposited in the Treasury and the Library, the transfer taking place without any difficulty.

M. de Lesseps, before his appointment to Madrid, had already spent eight years in Andalusia and Catalonia, and he was on excellent terms with the Royal family, the Government, and the generals of different parties. While on his new mission a regiment stationed at Valencia mutinied, and the revolt being unsuccessful, the authorities assembled a court-martial, by which thirteen officers belonging to the leading families at Court were sentenced to death. Mlle. de Montijo (afterwards the wife of Napoleon III.) went to Court, and after pleading for Queen Isabella's clemency towards the condemned officers, she fell fainting at her Majesty's feet. The Prime Minister was obdurate, however, and M. de Lesseps was appealed to. The French Ambassador also failed, and the death-warrant was just about to be signed when M. de Lesseps again sought the Spanish Premier at Aranjuez and said to him: "I have come to take leave of you, for you will see that, as the conditions of my mission to Spain were accepted by a sovereign Assembly because I might be able to exercise a salutary influence over your Government, if it is learnt that Mlle. de Montijo, belonging to

one of the highest families in Spain, has unsuccessfully solicited my intervention to procure a pardon which, in my opinion, will strengthen rather than weaken you, there is nothing left for me but to retire and to take leave of you." Whereupon Narvaez, looking him straight in the face, and seeing how determined he was, shook him vigorously by the hand, and said to him in Spanish, "You may be off, Ferdinand, with these men's heads in your pocket." De Lesseps did not stop to hear more, but, grasping Narvaez by the hand in turn, went back to Madrid, where he learnt that the Queen, at the instance of Narvaez, had signed the pardon of the condemned men.

M. de Lesseps negotiated a very advantageous postal treaty with Spain, but he had only been about a year at Madrid when Prince Napoleon was appointed in his place, and he was selected for the Legation at Berne. Before he could enter upon the duties of his new post he was despatched to Rome with the object of mediating with the Roman Republic. The expedition to restore the Pope had gravely compromised the French Government. During the disturbances in Rome the French Plenipotentiary had frequently to see Mazzini. On one occasion when he called he found the Italian leader asleep. M. de Lesseps remarks:

"He had a very handsome face, I thought, as he lay there asleep; and, though he had been exiled from so many States, he was then still a young man. I waited a little to see if he would awake, but as he did not I shouted his name. He jumped up in the bed, looked at me, and said, 'Are you come to murder me?' I replied, 'No, indeed; if one of us is to murder the other it will not be me. I have been told that you will not act openly with me. I have orders not to treat with you.' This was in consequence of the diplomatic difficulties which the fact of his being such a downright conspirator might have created for us with other States."

M. de Lesseps then charged Mazzini with thwarting the negotiations for peace by insisting on taking the place of the great Republican landowners of Italy who were not mistrusted by Europe. "When a difficulty occurs," M. de Lesseps naïvely observes, "a woman will burst into tears, but a man will throw himself into your arms. Mazzini did this, and so we continued the negotiations. I found out afterwards that, urged on by his own party, he was somewhat opposed to the object of the negotia-

tions, and that he kept up the agitation in Rome." Further difficulties arose, but they were all adjusted, and ultimately a draft treaty of agreement was drawn up. The French Government, however, did not approve of the open way in which M. de Lesseps showed his sympathy with the Roman Republic. "I was at last recalled," he says in his *Recollections*, "and when everything was ready the attack on Rome took place. I accordingly returned to Paris. The Government tried to make out that I was mad, and that has happened once since. I could not stand this, and I resigned my functions in the diplomatic service."

As far back as 1841, M. de Lesseps's project for cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez had dawned upon him. The enterprise had taken possession of his imagination after reading the memoirs of Lepère, the head engineer in the expedition of General Bonaparte. For years he brooded over the scheme; and it was not until 1854, while on a visit to Said Pasha, the new Viceroy of Egypt, that he first revealed the project that will be most lastingly associated with his name. He said to the Viceroy, "I am not a financier or a man of business. What do you think I had best do?" The Viceroy recommended him to obtain preliminary subscriptions, and as M. de Lesseps had many rich friends he got a hundred of them to join him. Each put in a share of £200. This sum served for the preliminary investigations which the projector caused to be made by European engineers, who examined the ground and supported him in his contention that the seas to be united were on the same level—which was stoutly denied—and that the work to be undertaken must be a purely maritime one.

But Europe was so preoccupied at this time with the question of the Crimean War that the plan of M. de Lesseps secured practically no hearing. Nevertheless, Said requested him to draw up a scheme in connection with his great idea. This was done, and the Viceroy granted a firman approving the enterprise. A letter announcing this fact, written by M. de Lesseps to Mr. Richard Cobden, M.P., and dated Cairo, 3rd December 1854, will serve to show the nature of the opposition which the project met with from the outset. The writer said:

"Some persons assert that the project will excite hostility in England. I cannot believe it. Your statesmen are too enlightened for me to admit such an idea. What! England has herself one-half of the general trade with India and China; she possesses

an immense empire in Asia ; she can reduce by a third the costs of her trade, and reduce by one-half the distance ; and she will refuse to do so, simply in order that the nations bordering on the Mediterranean may not benefit by their geographical situation to do a little more trade in Eastern waters than they do at present ! She would deprive herself of the advantages to be derived materially and politically from this new mode of communication, merely because others are more favourably placed than herself, just as if the geographical situation was everything, and as if, taking everything into account, England had not more to gain from this work than all the Powers put together."

Nevertheless, the scheme met with all kinds of objections, especially in England, and it was to remove some of these that M. de Lesseps wrote an important letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our Ambassador at Constantinople, on 28th February 1855. His predictions as to the political consequences of his work have proved singularly mistaken. He said :

"Let the Isthmus of Suez only be pierced ; let the waters of the Mediterranean mingle with those of the Indian Ocean ; let the railway be continued and completed, and Egypt, acquiring a greater value as a country of production, of internal trade, and of general transit, will lose its perilous importance as an uncertain or contested route of communication. The possession of its territory, no longer being of any interest to England, will cease to be a possible cause of contention between her and France, the union of the two countries will become henceforward unalterable, and the world be saved from the calamities which would attend a rupture between them."

M. de Lesseps came over to England in June 1855. He was supported by *The Times*, for this journal considered that England had no serious objection to offer against the proposed Canal, and that those hitherto raised rested on no solid basis. In an interview with Lord Palmerston, he failed to remove that statesman's prejudices against the scheme.

Lord Clarendon, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, appears not to have shared all the apprehensions of the Prime Minister ; while among those who actually approved of the Canal were Lord Holland, the Duke of Northumberland, Mr. Edward Ellice, M.P., Mr. Rendel, the leading hydraulic engineer in England, the Secretary to the Treasury, the Librarian of the British Museum, the Governor of the Bank of England,

the secretary of the Dock Company, and several of the founders and directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company.

M. de Lesseps visited London again in 1856, and had a second interview with Lord Palmerston. Describing its nature in a letter to M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, he said:

"He was very polite, and in some respects was very frank; but, after hearing me read the *résumé* of my conversation with Lord Clarendon, he spoke to me with regard to the Suez Canal in the most contradictory, the most incoherent, and, I will even add, the most senseless fashion imaginable. He is firmly convinced that France has long pursued a most Machiavellian policy in Egypt against England, and that the fortifications of Alexandria were paid for by Louis Philippe or his Government. He sees in the Canal the consequences of this policy. Upon the other hand, he persists in maintaining that the execution of the Canal is materially impossible, and that he knows more about it than all the engineers in Europe, whose opinions will not alter his. Finally, he declared that he should continue to be my adversary without any sort of reticence."

But M. de Lesseps found powerful friends besides those already enumerated. On 6th May 1856 he was presented to the Queen, and had a very long conversation with Prince Albert, who took him into his study, and drew from him the fullest information as to the exact nature of the projected works on the Canal. At a dinner given to him by the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Gladstone said he at first entertained considerable doubts regarding the scheme, but he was only too anxious to be persuaded, and heartily wished the projector success.

Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, continued to offer a steadfast opposition. In July 1857 he stated in Parliament that the English Government would lend no countenance to the scheme, and had used all its influence at Constantinople and in Egypt to prevent the plan from being carried into execution. He described it as worthy to rank "among the many bubble schemes that from time to time have been palmed off upon gullible capitalists," and declared it to be politically hostile to the interests of England. Two years after this M. de Lesseps was received by the Emperor Napoleon at St. Cloud. "How is it," his Majesty asked, "that so many people are against your enterprise?" Lesseps replied, "Your Majesty, it is because they

think you will not stand by us." The Emperor, twisting the tips of his moustache with his fingers, observed, after a brief silence, "Well, do not be uneasy. You may count upon my assistance and protection." Speaking of the resistance of England, and referring to a recent reply of the London Cabinet, which he called a "startling" one, the Emperor added, "It is a gust of wind. We must take in sail."

In January 1856 M. de Lesseps obtained a formal letter of concession from Said Pasha, and in the same year he published a clear and definite exposition of his views in his pamphlet "Percement de l'Isthme de Suez. Exposé et documents officiels." Yet many eminent English engineers still questioned the practicability of the scheme, and it is not a little curious that Robert Stephenson—who, with his father, had had to run the gauntlet of all the prejudiced criticism against railways early in the century—was one of the greatest sceptics as regarded the feasibility of the Suez Canal. Nevertheless a capital of two millions of francs was subscribed, and in 1859 the works were commenced. Large sums were expended, and the Pasha of Egypt took a great quantity of shares in the undertaking besides permitting M. de Lesseps to employ native labourers. Diplomatic difficulties speedily ensued, and the English public, which at first favoured the idea, began to look upon it with jealousy. The commercial classes were roused, and a belief soon obtained that the project was a political one.

On the death of Said Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, in 1863, the question of the sanction of the Ottoman Porte was more actively discussed, and the right of the Sultan to grant the concession was formally insisted upon. In the end, the permission given previously to the company to hold Egyptian territory—which was supposed to be the covert design of the project—was withdrawn. After much dispute between M. de Lesseps and the Egyptian Government, the claim for compensation to the company was left to the arbitration of the Emperor of the French, who awarded the Canal Company four millions sterling. A canal with sufficient water to admit of the passage of steamboats was opened on 15th August 1865. The channel was widened and deepened by special machinery, and in March 1867 small ships were able to make use of the Canal. The waters of the Mediterranean mingled with those of the Red Sea in the Bitter Lakes on 15th August 1869, and the event was

commemorated by grand *fêtes* at Suez. On the 20th of the following November the Canal was formally opened at Port Said amid a series of brilliant festivities. The Canal is about 100 miles long, with a bottom width of upwards of 200 feet, and a depth of 28 or 29 feet.

Some idea of the value of this gigantic undertaking may be gathered from the fact that in 1891 the Canal traffic receipts were 81,500,000 francs. Over 200,000 passengers have passed through the Canal annually during recent years. In 1891 the tonnage carried amounted to nearly 8,700,000 tons, French measurement. From three-fourths to four-fifths both of passengers and of tonnage are English. In 1889 the Peninsular and Oriental Company alone paid £240,000 in canal dues.

Honours poured in upon M. de Lesseps after the successful opening of the Canal. In February 1870 the Geographical Society of Paris awarded him the Empress's new prize of 10,000 francs. He gave it as a contribution to the society's projected expedition to Equatorial Africa. He was appointed to the rank of Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and received the cordon of the Italian Order of St. Maurice. The honorary freedom of the City of London was presented to him on 30th July 1870, and on 19th August following Queen Victoria created him an honorary Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India. In July 1873 the Paris Academy of Sciences elected M. de Lesseps a member, in the place of the late M. de Verneuil. In 1875 he published his *Lettres, Journal, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Canal de Suez.* For this work the French Academy awarded to him the Marcelin Guérin prize of 5000 francs. In June 1881 he was elected President of the French Geographical Society, in the place of Admiral de la Roncière-le-Noury. The Broad Riband of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun was presented to him in 1883.

The British Expedition to Egypt in 1882 occasioned Lesseps unnecessary alarm as to the safety of the great work with which his name will always be associated, and caused him to assume a very aggressive attitude towards the naval officers charged with securing the free passage through the Canal. It has sometimes been supposed that he was actuated by sympathy with Arabi or by hostility to England. As a matter of fact, he had neither sympathy nor hostility for one or the other. His sole desire was to avert hostilities in what he regarded as

his own highway. Having succeeded in persuading Arabi that we should never enter the Canal against his protest, he was compelled to show diplomatic excitement when those protests were disregarded.

M. de Lesseps promoted the project of the Corinth Canal, and made a journey in Algeria and Tunis to study the scheme of Commandant Rondaire for the creation of an inland sea in Africa—a scheme of which he formed a favourable opinion. Gradually, however, he became wholly absorbed in the fatal undertaking which was to prove his ruin—the Panama Canal. The idea was not a new one. America was discovered in 1492, Balboa ascertained the existence of the Pacific Ocean in 1513; and in 1514 the Spanish Adventurers conceived the project of uniting the two oceans by cutting a canal through the spurs of the Cordilleras. The later waterway designed by M. de Lesseps was intended to connect the Atlantic Ocean, at Aspinwall (or Colon), with the Pacific at the capital city of Panama—the oldest existing European settlement in the whole of America. His plan was to follow the course of the railway already connecting the two cities, except in certain places, where the line of the river Chagres was to be more closely adhered to. The whole length, from entrance to exit, was calculated at 54 miles; and the two chief difficulties were recognised in the flood waters of the river, and in the fact that the Cordilleras had to be cut through. It was necessary to cross the river-bed several times, and M. de Lesseps decided to cut through the Culebra Col, in the Cordilleras, which at the point chosen meant the excavation of a lengthy ravine about 350 feet deep. The increased cost of the work, however, and the difficulty of raising sufficient additional capital, compelled the projector to reduce the amount of cutting by resorting to a locked canal, a system which originally he had rejected as inadequate for the anticipated traffic. The Canal was to be 72 ft. wide at the bottom, with side slopes of about $1\frac{5}{8}$ to 1, and a depth of water of 27 ft., except through the rock cutting of the Culebra, where the depth and width were to be increased.

The financial history of the scheme has been very chequered. In 1879 De Lesseps began to take active measures towards the accomplishment of his project; and although in the outset American opposition endangered the prospects of success, a company was formed and operations begun on 1st February

1881. But for the next six years the work was only fitfully continued, and attacks upon its alleged chimerical nature and the enormous expense involved, as well as upon the serious loss of life which the climate entailed amongst the labourers, were constantly made in the New York Press. At length, in 1888, a lottery loan was issued, with the understanding that 400,000 bonds must be applied for. M. de Lesseps himself wrote a letter in which he said :

"I appeal to all Frenchmen, to all my associates whose fortunes are threatened. I have devoted my life to two great works, which were pronounced to be impossibilities—viz. the Suez and Panama Canals. The Suez Canal is constructed, and has enriched France. If you wish to complete the Panama Canal, the chance is in your own hands. You must decide."

The appeal was in vain, for the requisite 400,000 out of the 1,000,000 obligations were not taken up, and the subscription was annulled. On 13th December the Panama Canal Company suspended payment, and the greatest excitement prevailed throughout Paris and the provinces. A special meeting of the French Cabinet was at once held, and, to prevent speculation on the Bourse, its decision—to propose a three months' suspension of payments—was placarded. A Bill was brought into the Chamber to this effect, and urgency was carried by 333 to 155 votes. In the evening of the same day it was announced that M. de Lesseps and his colleagues had resigned their posts as administrators of the company, and that at their request the Tribunal of the Seine had appointed three judicial liquidators. On 15th December, however, the Chamber rejected the Bill by 256 to 181, the Committee having reported against it on the ground that it was for the tribunals to grant or refuse a postponement of payments. A great gathering of shareholders was held at Paris on 27th December, when a resolution was adopted declaring confidence in M. de Lesseps, resolving to cease to claim payment of coupons and annuities till the Canal was opened, and agreeing that it was desirable at once to raise the necessary capital to complete the work. At the close of the year 9000 men were being employed on the Canal.

In January 1889 General Boulanger gave his support to the scheme, and M. de Lesseps was offered the chairmanship of a new company, with a capital of 25,000,000 francs to complete the work. But America was still hostile to the Canal, and at

Washington, on 7th January, the Senate passed a resolution by forty-nine votes to three, in secret session, disapproving of any connection of any European Government with the construction or control of any ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien, and the President was requested to communicate this resolution to the Governments of Europe. M. Floquet, the French Premier, sympathised with the Canal bondholders, and as the result of further steps, by the close of January the prospectus was issued of the Panama Canal Completion Company, 60,000 shares at 500 francs each being issued at par, and payable in three instalments. On 4th February the Civil Tribunal at Paris gave judgment in favour of the winding up of the Panama Canal Company, with power to the liquidator to enter into arrangements with any new company. But on the 9th, M. de Lesseps had to announce that he was not in a position to constitute the new company; it would, therefore, be necessary to leave the matter in the hands of the liquidator. M. Brunet, the liquidator, made great efforts to save the company. He reduced the outlay at the works from 16,000,000 francs to about 2,000,000 francs, and reported that he could save the Canal if he were allowed to dispose of the unissued bonds at less than 300 francs; but the Government saw no prospect of Parliament agreeing to such a Bill. Finally, to facilitate the formation of a company which should complete the Canal and take over the plant, M. Brunet appointed an independent commission to investigate the condition and prospects of the scheme, consisting of an Englishman, a Dutchman, and a Belgian.

The Commissioners went out to Panama, examined the works, and made their report in May 1890. They gave it as their opinion that the canal might be constructed on the lock system for £19,400,000, but additions brought up the total estimated cost of completion to £30,000,000. As the amount of the original capital, and the money actually received from loans, represented a sum of £50,000,000 already incurred, this, with the additional £30,000,000, swelled the actual estimated cost of the cutting to £80,000,000, instead of £20,000,000, as originally estimated by M. de Lesseps. As regarded the revenue to be derived from the canal, the Commissioners estimated the net receipts at £1,520,000 for the first few years, and at £2,440,000 at the end of twelve years. The chances of the original shareholders ever getting their money back were thus

extremely remote. In December 1890 it was understood that an agreement extending the period within which the canal was to be completed had been signed by the Colombian Government and by a representative of the liquidator of the company. Twenty-six months were allowed in which to reorganise the company and renew the work.

In April 1891 M. Bonaparte Wyse returned to Paris with a new concession, and an effort was made to establish a new company. But the feeling in France was now very bitter against the directors of the old company. Out of some £53,000,000 sunk in the Panama project, only 783 millions of francs—or between half and two-thirds of the entire amount—had been spent on the works of the Isthmus, the rest being frittered away in France. The company's 500-franc shares were quoted at 27½ francs. A syndicate was formed to take over the existing assets, and to make a return to the old company; but by this time the public indignation had reached such a pitch that on the recommendation of the Public Prosecutor it was determined to institute an official inquiry into the action of M. de Lesseps and his colleagues. The inquiry was concluded on 15th November 1892, and the world was startled by the announcement that the legal advisers of the Government had decided to institute a prosecution against M. de Lesseps and his co-directors for breach of trust and malversation of funds. The five persons proceeded against were M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, M. Charles de Lesseps, Baron Cottu, M. Marius Fontane, and M. Eiffel. To these Baron Jacques Reinach was subsequently added by the Procureur-Général, but the Baron's sudden death under suspicious circumstances prevented his trial as a co-defendant. Few really believed that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was guilty of anything more than a reckless disregard for the practical difficulties, economical and engineering, of the Panama Canal scheme, while to many it seemed that the prosecution ought to have been instituted when the company stopped payment four years before.

The central figure in the humiliating drama was lying at his country seat of La Chesnaye, aged and enfeebled, and almost oblivious of everything that was going on around him. Charges of corruption began to be made against prominent statesmen, and interpellations rapidly succeeded each other in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. It was decided by 311 to 243

votes to appoint a Special Parliamentary Committee of thirty-three members, with the fullest powers, to investigate the allegations made in the Tribune. The Committee held several sittings, and took some startling evidence, when Paris was thrown into commotion on 28th November, by the fall of the Loubet Ministry on a motion in favour of the exhumation of Baron Reinach which the Government opposed.

M. Arton, who was accused of bribing Deputies and Senators, fled from Paris as soon as the prosecutions were instituted, and his whereabouts could not be discovered. At one of the sittings of the Panama Committee, M. Thierrée, banker, caused much sensation by stating that Baron Reinach paid into his bank a Panama cheque for 3,390,000 francs on the Bank of France, and that he drew it out in twenty-six cheques to bearer. The alleged counterfoils of these cheques were afterwards produced, when it appeared that two cheques for one million each had been drawn in favour of Dr. Cornelius Herz. Amongst the recipients of the others were Deputies and Senators. Many of these subsequently gave explanations.

On 15th December, immediately after a stormy sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, in which the new Government had secured a narrow majority, M. Ribot, Premier, and M. Bourgeois, Minister of Justice, gave directions to the Procureur-Général of the Seine, M. Tanon, to institute proceedings against MM. Charles de Lesseps, Henri Cottu, Marius Fontane, and Sans Leroy, on the test charge of corrupting public functionaries. All were accordingly arrested and committed to prison, except Baron Cottu, who was at Vienna. On hearing of the proceedings he returned to Paris and gave himself up. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was spared a similar disgrace because of his great age. On 20th December all previous sensations in the Panama drama were eclipsed by the announcement of the impending prosecution of five Deputies and five Senators. Five of the ten defendants were ex-Ministers. M. Franqueville, the investigating magistrate, subsequently reported that there was no case against MM. Jules Roche, Arène, and Thévenet, three of the accused.

The trial of the Panama Directors began on 10th January 1893, in the Paris Court of Appeal. MM. Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps and Baron Cottu were charged conjointly with having, within three years from the commencement of the

legal proceedings, "employed fraudulent manœuvres to induce belief in unreal schemes, and to raise imaginary hopes of the realisation of a chimerical event, with the object of obtaining from various persons subscriptions, followed by the payment of money on the occasion of the issue of bonds made on 20th June 1888, and by those means having embezzled a portion or all of the fortune of third parties." The clerk of the Court having read the indictment, the accused were called upon to answer to their names. No response being made for M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, counsel for the prosecution applied for judgment by default in his case, and that the case against the other defendants should proceed. The Court acceded to the application, in spite of the fact that a medical certificate had been lodged, declaring that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was utterly unable to leave his country seat at La Chesnaye. M. Charles de Lesseps was examined, and admitted, amongst other things, that he had distributed 11,000,000 francs among the beneficiaries of the Panama syndicate, which only contributed 5,000,000 francs. A sum of 375,000 francs, he stated, was also paid to M. Baïhaut, a former Minister of Public Works, to assist the passage of the Lottery Bill. A portion of this amount, he asserted, went to M. Blondin, private secretary to M. Baïhaut, and subsequently one of the chief clerks of the Crédit Lyonnais. M. Blondin, he said, acted as the intermediary between M. Arton (who was accused of distributing bribes largely), Baron Reinach, and various members of Parliament. M. de Lesseps alleged that he was obliged to give away large sums of money for the sake of the Panama scheme, because he was in the position of a man who gives up his watch to a highwayman. He assumed entire responsibility for what had been done. The other defendants having been examined, M. Monchicourt, liquidator of the company, stated that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps and his colleagues were to blame for not having seen the essential difference which existed between the Suez and Panama undertakings; but he considered that from the first Baron Reinach was the evil genius of the Panama Company.

The Court passed judgment on 9th February, and all the sentences were unexpectedly severe. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and to the payment of a fine of 3000 francs (£120). M. Charles de Lesseps received a similar sentence.

The defendants were made jointly responsible for the payment of fines and costs; and the sentences did not prevent any civil actions for the recovery of moneys squandered within a period of five years. The judgment declared that it was illusory to maintain that the canal would be completed by 1890, that the outlay would not exceed 600 millions, and that the immediate traffic would amount to seven million tons. From the very outset the defendants constantly swelled or reduced the figures, so as to justify the documents on which they appealed for subscriptions. The Reinach syndicate formed in 1888 was an improper co-operation for influencing the public. The members paid 2½ francs per bond, and were to receive from 5 francs to 20 francs per bond. Baron Reinach received 3,390,000 francs besides 2,590,000 francs, as expenses of publicity, while the banker Oberndörffer had 1,850,000 francs, besides 2,049,000 francs as commission. Defendants deluded the public, and paid newspapers to repeat their assertions. Shareholders' societies were formed to mislead the public. Out of thirty-one millions for costs of issue eleven millions were paid to syndicates, and thus diverted from their proper purpose. The judgment produced a great sensation. A telegram was sent to La Chesnaye, informing Mme. de Lesseps of the result of the trial, but the distressing news was kept from her aged husband. Some days afterwards M. Charles de Lesseps was allowed to visit his father, when a painful and affecting interview took place. After the son's departure, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps relapsed into his old state of stupor and semi-insensibility.

A second Panama trial followed for bribery and corruption. The Judicial Chamber of Paris, after a rigid investigation, committed to the Assizes, on the charge of giving or receiving bribes, MM. Charles de Lesseps, Fontane, Blondin, and Arton; MM. Dugué de la Fauconnerie and Antonin Proust, deputies; M. Béral, Senator; and MM. Baïhaut, Sans Leroy, and Gobron, ex-Deputies. The great bribery trial was opened on 8th March in the Assize Court of the Seine. All the defendants were present except Arton, who was still in hiding. M. Charles de Lesseps was examined, and gave his evidence with great spirit and energy. He admitted that he had distributed large sums, but was told that the undertaking could not be carried on without a heavy expenditure of this kind. He said that, amongst other amounts, he gave Baron Reinach 5,000,000

francs, and M. Herz 2,000,000 francs. M. Baïhaut made an abject confession that he had been bribed with 375,000 francs, on the introduction of the Panama Lottery Bill, M. Sans Leroy denied that he had been bribed, the 200,000 francs which he had received being the amount of his wife's dowry. MM. Béral, Gobron, Dugué de la Fauconnerie, and Antonin Proust likewise denied that they had been corrupted, and furnished explanations with regard to the amounts attached to their names. M. Floquet, who was called as a witness, emphatically contradicted M. de Lesseps's assertion that he had used Panama funds for electoral purposes, and M. Clémenceau denied that corrupt payments by Reinach to Herz had been made through his influence.

The trial came to a close on 21st March, when the jury pronounced a verdict of guilty, with extenuating circumstances, against M. Charles de Lesseps and M. Blondin, and of guilty, without extenuating circumstances, against M. Baïhaut. With this the prosecutions terminated, though all the ramifications in connection with the Panama scandals had by no means been exhausted, and the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry continued its sittings for some time longer.

The sentence passed upon M. Ferdinand de Lesseps in the first trial was generally condemned for its over-severity, and the prosecution itself was regarded as being very largely political.

In the year 1884, when M. de Lesseps was elected by the French Academy to the chair left vacant by the death of Henri Martin—a chair which had previously been occupied by M. Thiers—M. Renan addressed him as follows :—

"It is not your words but your individuality which attracts ; or, I should say, your whole person speaks ; you exercise a charm. You have that supreme gift which works miracles like faith, and which is, in truth, of the same order. Charm has its secret motives, but not its definite reasons. Its action is wholly spiritual. You obtain the same amount of success at Chicago, a city which is not a third your age, as you do in the ancient cities of Europe. You convince the Turk, the Arab, the Abyssinian, the Paris speculator, and the Liverpool merchant, by reasons which differ only in appearance. The true reason of your ascendency is that people detect in you a heart full of sympathy for all that is human ; a genuine passion for ameliorating the lot of your fellow-creatures."

Public opinion, which has alternately regarded him as an impostor or as a brilliant engineer, as a consummate financier or as a heartless swindler, will probably finally settle down to this appreciation of the originator of the Suez Canal. He was neither a financier nor an engineer, neither an impostor nor a swindler. He was a man of great originality, of indomitable perseverance, of boundless faith in himself, and of singular powers of fascination over others.

MR. WALTER

1818–1894

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1894

IT is difficult for any not connected with this journal to realise fully the void created by the death of Mr. Walter among the forces which mould the life of our country and influence the course of the world. There are very few men in any generation of whom it can be said with truth that if they had been otherwise constituted than they were, the course of history would have been appreciably and manifestly different. Mr. Walter was one of those few. Trained from his birth to exercise a potent and controlling influence in the counsels of a newspaper which his father had raised to the first place in the world, Mr. Walter has in this manner contributed directly to the decision of all the great questions of his time. His was a position absolutely unique. He was never a public man of the first rank in the ordinary sense of the words. Though he was for many years a member of Parliament, who spoke always with weight and authority on the subjects which engaged his attention, his Parliamentary influence was necessarily covert and indirect, and he was not recognised in public as a great Parliamentary force.

In the world at large and in society he was known as a man of fine taste, wide culture, and sound judgment, reserved, and it might seem to strangers even somewhat austere, in manner, rather than as one of those who are daily making the history of the nation. As a country gentleman he was a courteous host, a liberal and considerate landlord, a diligent magistrate,

an enlightened agriculturist, an earnest Churchman, a master of all public business pertaining to his station ; in a word, a pattern embodiment of that unique assemblage of qualities which honourably distinguishes the best examples of English rural life in high and responsible station. Yet, if this were all, Mr. Walter would not differ from thousands of his countrymen who have lived and are living exemplary and beneficent lives in a station similar to his own.

The unique characteristic of Mr. Walter's life was his relation to *The Times*. He was born to a great inheritance—we do not speak of the fortune and the position bequeathed to him by his father—and to a responsibility even greater than his inheritance. For hard upon half a century Mr. Walter's voice has been always a potent voice, in the last resort a deciding voice, in the policy and conduct of this journal. To a man of conscience and integrity such as Mr. Walter was, in a measure far beyond the ordinary standard of the multitude, a position such as this carries with it a responsibility as heavy as mortal man can bear. To say that Mr. Walter bore it worthily is merely to appeal to the history of *The Times* during the last half-century. *Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna*, Mr. Walter's father might have said to him, as he handed over to him the reins of government he had handled so skilfully himself; and now that the end of the long stewardship has come, it may seem but a poor thing, though it is in reality a very great thing, to say that its record has been as blameless as its results have been brilliant. Mr. Walter, of course, made mistakes, like the rest of mankind ; he had his prejudices and his personal predilections ; *The Times* may now and again have made mistakes in his day, as it made mistakes before his time, and as it may make mistakes hereafter. But Mr. Walter was seldom wrong except when he was wrong with the majority of his countrymen ; no unworthy motive ever led him astray ; he brought to the decision of public issues a mind of wide grasp and fine culture, a nature predisposed to the pursuit of high and serious purposes, a shrewd judgment, a sensitive conscience, a vast experience, and an integrity as inflexible as it was fearless ; and we may confidently appeal to the history of *The Times* under his management as a measure of his real influence on the affairs of men, and an index of the spirit in which that influence was exercised. The world is apt to think that great organisa-

tions like that of *The Times* live and move, and even prosper, of themselves. So they do, perhaps, in a certain sense and measure. There have been other forces and other personalities at work, besides those of Mr. Walter, to make *The Times* what it is. But no one who knows the delicacy of such an organisation, the vigilance, the judgment, the sagacity, the forethought, and the sincerity of purpose that are incessantly needed for its successful conduct and skilful control will be tempted to underrate the value of Mr. Walter's share in the work to which his life was devoted.

John Walter, the third of his name and the grandson of the original founder of *The Times*, was born in 1818, in the private residence in Printing-house Square which adjoins the office where the newspaper was, and is still, published. His grandfather died in 1812, having handed over the sole management of the journal to his younger son, John, in 1803. *The Times* had not been a conspicuous success in the hands of its founder. The first Mr. Walter was not a printer by profession, and he had no previous experience of newspapers, when, at nearly fifty years of age, having made a fortune as an underwriter and lost it in the stress of war, he associated himself with a printer of original views named Henry Johnson, and brought out in 1785 a newspaper called the *Daily Universal Register*, which took the name of *The Times* as its principal title on 1st January 1788. By that name the paper has ever since been known, and its regular appearance on every week-day has been uninterrupted. But the first founder of *The Times*, though a man of energy, capacity, and sterling worth, was not immediately successful in his great undertaking. *The Times* underwent an early and prolonged discipline of adversity. A year after its first appearance Mr. Walter was prosecuted for a libel on some of the King's sons. He was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £50, to stand for an hour in the pillory at Charing Cross, to be imprisoned in Newgate for twelve months, and to give security for good behaviour for seven years. Further prosecutions ensued, and Mr. Walter was imprisoned for sixteen months in all, being finally liberated on the intercession of the Prince of Wales. "So great were the difficulties in which he at this time found himself involved," we wrote on the occasion of the centenary of the paper in 1888, "that Mr. Walter seriously thought of abandoning the publication of *The Times*.

But he was not the man to be easily beaten. He persevered in spite of all discouragements, and the paper struggled on. In the year 1797 or 1798 Mr. Walter recalled his younger son from Oxford, in the second or third year of his residence at the University, and associated him with himself in the management of his business. The second Mr. Walter had served a regular apprenticeship to his father, and possessed a thorough practical acquaintance with all the details of printing and newspaper management. But he was not merely a good man of business, he was a man of singular energy and vigour of character, of great sagacity, and of inflexible tenacity of purpose. He became sole manager of *The Times* in 1803, and before his death in 1847—when he was succeeded in the management by his eldest son, the present Mr. John Walter—he had made *The Times* the leading journal of the world, a position which it would be mere affectation on our part not to recognise that it still occupies."

It was to this great inheritance that the late Mr. Walter was born. He was educated at Eton, where he was captain of the Oppidans and in the Eleven. He always retained a keen interest in the school, to which he sent several of his sons. From Eton he went to Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1840 and M.A. in 1843, having obtained a second class in classics in Easter term, 1840. In the same class were placed Sir George Dasent, who was afterwards for many years a leading member of the staff of *The Times*, the present Lord Farrer, and Mr. Froude, the historian, whose death occurred last month—a company not less distinguished, to say the least, in after achievement than is to be found in the first class of the same class list. Mr. Walter retained throughout his life the deep influences of his Oxford training—a training which, as it existed in his day, he held to be far better adapted to brace a man's intellectual fibre, to imbue him with the spirit of sound scholarship, to refine his taste and enlarge his sympathies, to give him a firm grasp on life and affairs, than the more varied and specialised curriculum of the present day.

Though not a professed scholar, he read widely in classical and modern literature, and his judgment on questions of composition and style was always sound and masculine. It was to Oxford that he went constantly for writers qualified to sustain the literary reputation of *The Times*. He sought in them and

found, with rare sagacity and insight, a capacity to deal with public affairs in a broad, liberal, and masculine spirit, to understand and interpret the drift of the national mind, and to give effective expression to the current sentiments of serious and sober-minded Englishmen. This was a tradition which he had inherited from his father, a tradition which, for over ninety years during the management of father and son, has been the guiding principle of *The Times*. What Mr. Walter added to it was a scholarly regard, inspired by his own taste and training, for the purity of the English tongue. If his father gave *The Times* strength, as he undoubtedly did, Mr. Walter added to that strength refinement.

He used to quote with great satisfaction a remark once made to him by the late Sir James Graham—"*The Times* has saved the English language"; and, though the saying is perhaps hyperbolical, we can at least say with truth that if, during Mr. Walter's management, *The Times*, without abandoning its traditional policy, or hesitating to strike hard when hard striking was needed, has exhibited a higher standard of literary taste and propriety than it did in the earlier years of the century, the result has been due not more to the growing refinement of manners, public, political, and private, and to the gradual improvement of taste in matters literary, than to the personal influence of Mr. Walter over the great organ of public opinion with which he was so long identified, and to his judicious selection of writers of like sentiments with himself.

To quote again from the article above referred to—"To recognise commerce and industry as the true source of the greatness of England; to uphold the cause of humanity and freedom; to spare no efforts in the collection of intelligence, and no pains in securing its accuracy and authenticity; to discuss public affairs with moderation, good sense, and a single-minded regard for the welfare of the country, the stability of its institutions, and the maintenance of its position among the Great Powers of the world—in a word, to look at all public affairs, and all matters which concern or interest the public, with the eyes of an English citizen of virtue, good sense, and intelligence, and to express judgments upon them in a style not unworthy of our noble English tongue;—these were the principles which Mr. John Walter, the founder of *The Times*, impressed upon his journal, and these are the principles which have made *The*

Times what it is." These principles were inherited by the third Mr. John Walter, whose loss we now deplore, and who, while he abated nothing of their substance, strove steadily to improve the form in which they were embodied. They will survive his death, as they survived the death of his father, and in the hands of Mr. Arthur Walter, so long associated with him in the management of the paper, *The Times*, we are confident, will not prove unworthy of its past.

Another strong influence which Mr. Walter underwent at Oxford was that of the Oxford Movement. Like most laymen of his age, the elder Mr. Walter distrusted the Oxford Movement, and never brought himself to understand it. Like most young men of open minds and generous sentiments, the younger Mr. Walter fell under its influence for a time, though probably in later years his attitude towards it was not widely different from that of his father. Hence, when Mr. Walter was first associated with his father in the management of *The Times*, a serious difference arose between them on this point, so serious, indeed, as to induce Mr. Walter junior to withdraw, for a time, from the counsels of the paper. In the end, however, the views of the son so far prevailed, that a change came over the attitude of *The Times* towards the Tractarian Movement and its leaders —a change which is noted in more than one passage of Newman's and Pusey's correspondence ; and overtures were even made to Newman to become a contributor to the paper. These overtures came to nothing directly, but it is probable that they led indirectly to the long and brilliant connection of the late Mr. Thomas Mozley, Newman's brother-in-law, with *The Times*—a connection which, so far as it was due to the influence and judgment of Mr. Walter, is a splendid monument of his sagacity in the discharge of one of the most delicate and responsible duties incidental to the supreme management of *The Times*.

It would be easy to give many other instances of similar sagacity; and our readers would be not a little astonished to see a list of the names of eminent writers who, during Mr. Walter's management, have contributed more or less regularly to the paper. But these are matters on which, in accordance with an immemorial and indefeasible tradition, we forbear to dwell. The overtures to Newman, and the long connection of Mr. Mozley with the paper, are matters of public notoriety, and for that reason alone they are mentioned here. The rest is

silence. Against anonymous journalism there is something to be said, no doubt; but the columns of *The Times* are not the place to deny that there is a great deal more to be said for it. On the other hand, for anonymous journalism which is not really anonymous there is nothing to be said at all.

To write the real life of Mr. Walter would be to write the history of *The Times* for the last fifty years, and that is, of course, impossible now or hereafter. It was once suggested to Mr. Walter that the history of *The Times* ought to be written before it was too late, and that he alone was in possession of the materials necessary for the purpose. He reflected for a moment, and then said, "It would be profoundly interesting, but it is quite impossible; the thing can never be done." If such was his feeling about the earlier history of *The Times*—a period anterior to his own connection with its management,—it is plain that his feeling about its later history under his own control would have been far stronger, and it would be a sorry tribute to his memory to lift the veil which he always regarded as impenetrable. Hence we must fain content ourselves with a brief record of his not very eventful public career, and leave the public history of *The Times* to be his best and most enduring monument. He was early destined for Parliamentary life. His father had been in Parliament before him, having sat first for Berkshire—a seat from which he retired in 1837 in consequence of his attitude of uncompromising opposition to the new Poor Law—and afterwards for Nottingham, where he was unseated in 1842, his election being declared void on grounds unconnected with his personal action. The son reversed the order of constituencies. He stood unsuccessfully for the seat rendered vacant by his father's disqualification in 1843, but in 1847 he was spontaneously placed by the electors of Nottingham at the head of the poll, with Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader, as his colleague. In the meanwhile he had been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and, on his father's retirement, had assumed the sole management of *The Times*. Being thus absorbed in the responsibilities and anxieties inseparable from that position, and pre-occupied in private with the serious illness of his father, who had been for some time in declining health, Mr. Walter had no thought of standing for Parliament at the general election of 1847. But the electors of Nottingham appeared to have shared the elder Mr. Walter's views as to the

iniquities of the new Poor Law; and, Radical as they were, they resolved to return his son, at that time a nominal Conservative, though a Free-trader and virtually a Peelite, as a tribute of gratitude for the father's advocacy of the views they favoured. This was done without solicitation on the part of Mr. Walter, who never canvassed or even visited the constituency; and the result was declared on the day on which his father died. He was placed at the head of the poll with a majority of more than 400 over Feargus O'Connor, the two Liberal candidates, Mr. Thomas Gisborne and Sir John C. Hobhouse, being completely distanced.

Addressing the electors a day or two afterwards, the rector of Keyworth, Peter Lovett Fraser, who had been connected with *The Times* early in the century, uttered some words which it is interesting to recall: "I believe," he said, "that I am the oldest, and, exclusive of relations, the most closely attached, friend that the late Mr. Walter possessed. I have some right, therefore, to give an opinion respecting him. With his public merits others may have been as well acquainted as myself; but I can bear testimony also to his private and personal virtues, to the manner in which he performed all the duties of social life—those of husband, father, friend, of Christian, in fact, and general benefactor. And strenuously, too, has the son imitated and carried forth the father's example. You need, therefore, have no fear of the gentleman you have just elected; no anxiety respecting his merits, his talents, his integrity, his humanity—the distinguishing trait of his father's character."

Mr. Walter shortly after visited the constituency for the purpose of thanking the electors for their voluntary and unsolicited efforts on his behalf, and took occasion to explain and define his position as that of a Liberal-Conservative—a position which he practically maintained throughout his Parliamentary life; for though, after 1859, when he was elected as a Liberal for Berkshire, until 1885, when he finally retired from Parliament, he sat and voted when in Parliament with the Liberals, he always belonged to the extreme right wing of the Liberal party, and, if our political organisation had recognised the existence of a centre party—a party of moderation which cared less for party distinctions than for good government, ordered progress, and prudent legislation—he would never have been found very far from its midst. He was returned again for

Nottingham as a Liberal-Conservative in 1852 and 1857, standing in the former year in the same capacity for Berkshire, where he received only a handful of votes. In 1859, however, he finally quitted Nottingham, and was returned for Berkshire. There he was again defeated in 1865, but was returned in 1868, retaining the seat until he finally retired from Parliament in 1885.

Mr. Walter's Parliamentary career was not one of great prominence, though his personal weight, the solidity of his character, the sobriety of his views, and the tacit recognition of the influence he exercised over the public opinion of the country, always secured for his speeches an attentive audience and a respectful hearing. To few of them need we refer, but, as illustrating his spirit and his general political attitude, we may dwell for a moment on one of the earlier episodes in his public career, and on some of his later speeches at election times delivered to his Berkshire constituents.

The episode to which we refer occurred in May 1860, during the debates on the Reform Bill; and the occasion of it was a curious proceeding on the part of Mr. Horsman, the member for Stroud, who six years later was to become very conspicuous as a joint-tenant with Mr. Lowe of the celebrated "Cave." Mr. Horsman, whose conduct in the matter sufficiently explains why he, with all his eloquence and debating power, never succeeded as a politician, wished to fix upon Mr. Walter the personal responsibility for an article in this journal, which Mr. Horsman disliked, and which he thought insulting to the House of Commons. Moreover, to make matters worse, after giving Mr. Walter formal notice by letter that he intended to attack him, he thought better of it and kept silence; whereupon Mr. Walter, in a spirited speech, raised the question of privilege and made a vigorous defence of the independence of the Press, of the rights of anonymity, and of his own position. Mr. Horsman's long reply was generally thought to be feeble and ineffective. The discussion ended with the pouring of oil on the troubled waters by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Walter's firm protest was properly appreciated by the Press and the country.

Among Mr. Walter's speeches "out of doors" we may point to those which he delivered at Reading and Wokingham in April 1880, when he stood for the last time as a Parliamentary

candidate; and to that which he made at Wokingham in 1892, long after Mr. Gladstone had broken up the Liberal party and had driven so many of its wisest members to support the Conservatives. The first of the 1880 speeches was an example of fairness the like of which it would be difficult to find in the annals of contested elections. In the course of it, after declaring his loyal agreement with the policy and performances of the Liberal Government of 1868-74, Mr. Walter pronounced Mr. Cross "the best Home Secretary he had known for thirty years," and Sir S. Northcote a first-rate Chancellor of the Exchequer. The keynote of the speech, as of his politics generally, was moderation, and the desire which Mr. Walter expressed was for a Granville-Hartington Administration. At Wokingham, again, he spoke in the same moderate spirit on many of the domestic questions before the public; and it is noticeable that he pronounced very strongly, even at a time before the "new unionism" had been invented, in favour of freedom of contract between landlord and tenant, and between employer and employed, in all cases save those in which a very strong and exceptional cause could be shown to the contrary. Mr. Walter was returned to the Parliament of 1880 as a Liberal, defeating his more advanced competitor by 100 votes; but he very soon began to lose heart as he watched the conduct of affairs in the hands of the disorganised Government, and as the tactics and character of Mr. Parnell's followers became clear to him. The close of that Parliament was the close of his public career. He did not offer himself for election in 1885, and in 1886 he definitely broke with Mr. Gladstone's party.

In the election of 1892 he took an active part in promoting the return of Sir George Russell, a Conservative; and one of his last speeches was that delivered at Wokingham, in the July of that year, in support of his old opponent's candidature. The speech may be still read with interest as an example of a damaging and yet perfectly temperate attack upon Mr. Gladstone, on the three grounds of his age, his policy, and his company. Like Burke, Mr. Walter appealed "from the new to the old Whigs," and convicted Mr. Gladstone of the worst unwisdom both by the example of moderate Liberals and out of the mouth of his old leader and master, Sir Robert Peel.

The native seriousness of Mr. Walter's character, and the reserve imposed upon him by his known relation to *The Times*,

were deepened in later years by a bereavement shortly to be mentioned. He was seldom playful, and not often familiar, even with his intimates outside his own family circle, but those who knew him best were singularly attracted by the gentleness and simplicity of his character, and by a generosity that, in practice, sometimes infringed the strict laws of political economy upon which in theory he was wont to insist. No one who knew him at all will deny to him the higher and rarer qualities of unfailing conscientiousness of action, inflexible integrity of purpose, active but unpretending benevolence in all relations of life, an uprightness only equalled by his liberality in all relations of business, and an intense kindliness of disposition which was often masked by his reserve and by the serious cast of his features, but as often betrayed by the sweet beauty of his smile. To those of us who were privileged to enjoy his friendship his loss is scarcely to be measured or expressed in words; but it is not merely in the circle of his personal friends that that feeling prevails. There is no one, high or low, in the great establishment over which he so long presided who has not watched his last illness with the keen sympathy of a deep personal regard, and mourned his death with the poignancy of a genuine personal sorrow.

Mr. Walter's real influence in Parliament was so closely interwoven with his confidential relation to *The Times* that we must perforce leave both to speak mainly for themselves. We have already indicated what we consider to be the chief note of his influence in the counsels of this journal, and for the rest the world has been able to judge daily for itself. He undertook the management of *The Times* when he was quite a young man, and when, as it so happened, his own age, and that of his two principal associates—one of whom was Mr. Delane—would barely have exceeded, even if they had reached, the age at which he has himself died. It was an immense responsibility, and men said freely, as he often used to relate, that these three young men would ruin *The Times.* The prophets were wrong after all, he would go on to say, and, though the whole position of newspapers has changed vastly in the interval, he leaves *The Times* as he found it, the leading journal of the world. In its material surroundings it may be said of him as was said of Augustus and his influence on Rome, *invenit lateritiam reliquit marmoream.*

The dingy little office where *The Times* was first produced has

given place to the spacious building which now surrounds Printing-house Square and faces Queen Victoria Street with an imposing front; and as his father first introduced printing by steam, and thus effected the first great revolution in journalism, so Mr. Walter introduced the press which bears his name, due largely to the inventive genius and practical capacity of the late Mr. John Cameron MacDonald, and thereby effected a second revolution in journalism not less important than the first.

The new offices in Printing-house Square were constructed, like his own residences at Bearwood and in London, mainly from his own plans, and entirely, or almost entirely, from bricks made on his own estate and from wood-work fashioned in his own private workshops; for Mr. Walter had not only a passion for bricks and mortar, but a very marked capacity for architectural design. So much interested, indeed, was he in architecture and in London improvements that he used sometimes to say that the only office he would ever have accepted from any Government was that of First Commissioner of Works. Although he was never called upon to fill this or any other official post, he did good service as a member of the Select Committee on Westminster Hall. In this connection an anecdote may serve to illustrate the determined character of the man, while it reveals a remarkable hereditary trait. During the building of Bearwood the bricklayers employed struck work. Mr. Walter, like his father, was not the man to be beaten by labour troubles. He at once mounted the scaffolding and began to lay the bricks with his own hands. "You see I can get on without you," he said, turning to the men on strike, who were watching him; "it will take a little longer, perhaps, but I shall get it done in the end." The men returned to their work forthwith, and there were no more strikes at Bearwood. A very similar anecdote to this was told in these columns in the biography of Mr. Walter's father, and it may here be recalled to illustrate that "extraordinary boldness and resolution" which was not less characteristic of the son than of the father:

"That spirit, though it often brought him into difficulties, operated most favourably in its ultimate results. Of this truth a striking exemplification occurred in 1810. Towards the latter end of May in that year the pressmen—not those who arrange the types, but those who impress their forms on the paper—insisted upon increased wages. The men then employed

in working the *Day* newspaper came to *The Times* office in Printing-house Square, and called upon their brethren to join them in a combination which was illegal under the circumstances, and must at any time have been regarded as unjustifiable. They insisted upon uniform rates of wages throughout all the printing-offices, overlooking the fact that the men of *The Times* enjoyed indulgences as well as opportunities of extra labour and reward which in other quarters were denied. At first Mr. Walter was disposed to make concessions; but a boy employed at *The Times* office informed him that a conspiracy had been organised, not only amongst the pressmen, but amongst the compositors also, to abandon his employment under circumstances that would stop the publication of the paper, and therefore destroy the most valuable property that he then possessed. The complaints of the compositors not only had reference to wages, but to a particular description of type then getting into use,—the effect of which type, it was alleged, would materially diminish the remuneration for piecework. These unfortunate men bound themselves by a solemn oath that unless the proprietors of *The Times* acceded to the previously-unheard-of terms which the general body of the London compositors and pressmen then thought proper to dictate, the combination into which they had entered should be carried out into its fullest effect."

"The 'strike' took place on a Saturday morning. Mr. Walter had only a few hours' notice of this formidable design, and beset as he was, most men would have submitted to any conditions; but as he despised mediocrity, so he hated compromise. Having collected a few apprentices from half-a-dozen different quarters and a few inferior workmen anxious to obtain employment on any terms, he determined to set a memorable example of what one man's energy can accomplish. For six-and-thirty hours he himself worked incessantly at case and at press; and on Monday morning, the conspirators, who had assembled to triumph over his defeat, saw, to their inexpressible astonishment and dismay, *The Times* issue from the hands of the publisher with the same regularity as ever. A few months passed on, and Mr. Walter brought out his journal every day without the aid of his quondam workmen."

Mr. Walter's artistic tastes were not less strongly developed than his aptitudes for business and public affairs. He was fond of landscape gardening on a large scale, as the grounds at Bear-

wood, first laid out by his father and constantly beautified by himself, and the avenue of Wellingtonias, planted near Wellington College, abundantly testify. Of that college Mr. Walter was a Governor, and he founded there, in honour of the hero whose memory he almost worshipped, an annual prize for the best English essay on Wellington's despatches, which he well-nigh knew by heart. In 1859 he generously assisted his brother Sir Edward Walter, who survives him, in starting the Corps of Commissionaires.

Mr. Walter was a fine judge of pictures, a judicious buyer, and a regular visitor to the exhibitions and the principal sales. His own gallery, partly collected by his father, is an assemblage of masterpieces, and he thoroughly enjoyed discussing its beauties with visitors who had studied the Dutch school. The best of these pictures he lent, some of them more than once, to the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy. He was a life member of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, and had been since 1879 a vice-president of the Smithfield Club, of which, in 1882, he was president.

Of Mr. Walter's private life, its felicities and its trials, we are not concerned to speak at length ; such details belong to his family and not to the world. He was twice married, first in 1842 to the daughter of Major M. H. Court, of Castlemans, Berkshire, who died in 1858 ; and secondly, in 1861, to the daughter of Mr. James Monro Macnabb, of Highfield Park, Hants. For the rest, one tragic incident of his domestic life must be briefly mentioned. His eldest son, named John like himself, was a youth of great promise, sterling character, and high capacity, endeared to all who knew him at school, at college, and in the domestic circle by the rare graces of a singularly sweet and engaging disposition. On quitting Oxford he had travelled round the world, and returned home to his family in the Christmas week of 1870 with enlarged experiences and such quickened perceptions of the larger bearings of public affairs as, if fate had so ordained, could not but have been invaluable to a young man with destinies such as his, nor without their influence on the future affairs of his country. On Christmas Eve he went with some of his brothers and other relatives to skate on the large lake in the beautiful grounds of Bearwood. The ice gave way, and two of his brothers and a cousin were immersed and in danger of drowning. He instantly

went to their rescue, but sank almost immediately on getting into the water, apparently owing to some sudden failure of the heart's action. In a single moment the high hopes inspired by his noble character and brilliant promise were wrecked, and Mr. Walter was bereft of his eldest son.

> Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
> Esse sinent.

The blow was as cruel as it was unexpected. To say that Mr. Walter never recovered it would be an impeachment of his piety and fortitude. Still happy in a numerous and devoted family; happy in his marriage and in the affection of the gracious lady who now survives him ; profoundly religious in his disposition, and long accustomed to bear all the trials of life with the resignation of sincere but unostentatious piety, Mr. Walter was stricken indeed, but not prostrated, by this terrible calamity. He sorrowed as a Christian man should sorrow, not without hope nor without the consolation which sorrow manfully endured brings with it in its train. But the great and sudden tragedy of his life—followed, many years afterwards, by the loss of the eldest son of the second marriage—permanently deepened the native seriousness of his character, and helped, as we have said, to give him that outward reserve which concealed from an indifferent world, while it revealed to those who knew him well, the chastened sorrow of a father's lacerated heart.

We must here bring to a close this imperfect notice of a good man and a life well spent in the faithful discharge of great public responsibilities. There would be much more to say if this were the place and the occasion to say it. For good or for evil, Mr. Walter's influence on the history of his time has been powerful. His record is that of a conscientious servant of the public, a sagacious man of affairs, a faithful steward of his talents and opportunities, a devout Christian, a sincere patriot, a high-minded English gentleman. Of such a record we are unfeignedly proud ; but, since it is not for us to pronounce a final, or indeed any, judgment, on the conduct of this journal under Mr. Walter's management, we have preferred to leave this to others ; to give, what no one unconnected with *The Times* is qualified to give, a faithful appreciation of his public services ; and to pay a sorrowful tribute to his private worth.

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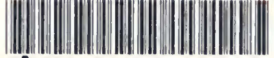
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